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This document reports the findings of a project designed to identify and evaluate strategies employed by school administrators in dealing with conflicts arising from the diverse and opposing values held by different groups within a community. A city school district (identified as "Grandview"), which had been involved in a conflict situation caused by racial imbalance in its schools, was chosen as the site for this case study. Data were collected from newspaper accounts, personal interviews, questionnaires, and recorded documents in the files of the school district. The behaviors and interactions of the identifiable groups involved in the conflict are described within the framework of a chronology of events related to the conflict situation. This study offers a comprehensive reconstruction of the actions and events relevant to the resolution of a community conflict over racial imbalance in the schools. (Author/JH)

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THE POLITICS OF DE FACTO SEGREGATION

A Case Study

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PREFACE

The governance of public schools at the local level has long been a topic of discussion and research. Even though the members of the traditional community power elite often have not participated directly in educational affairs, the norms and value orientations of these business and political leaders have generally been reflected by school board members.

Early in this decade some evidence began to appear that representatives of labor and other groups who did not necessarily share the values and norms of the business and economic dominants were gaining positions of influence on local education issues. Regardless of their relative power in determining school issues, it is clear that groups which formerly were disassociated from the governance of schools now desire to participate in decision-making about schools and are demanding to have their positions heard. Spawned by the pluralism of our society, these new power groups have thus emerged to make demands upon the educational system.

School administrators who once felt comfortable in dealing with the traditional power structure now report feelings of great insecurity in their relationships with the new power broups which are emerging from different social strata and viewing the schools through different sets of value perspectives.

This case study is the result of a project designed to identify some of the strategies employed by school administrators in dealing with actual conflicts arising from the diverse and opposing values held by different groups within a community. We have attempted to document the behaviors and interactions of the identifiable diverse groups involved in a conflict over local school issues. The issues in this case are perceived so differently by the different groups that an observer must wonder if any common definition of the problem is possible, let alone a meaningful solution.

CASEA, University of Oregon
May, 1969

The Authors

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CHAPTER 1

ARE THE SCHOOLS SEGREGATED?

In many ways, Grandview is a typical Western city. Until World War II, it seemed to resist the pressures to resemble a metropolitan area, choosing to remain more like a small town. It had its problems of transportation, recreation facilities, overcrowded schools, and economic development, but, generally the approach taken to these problems and others was moderate and not too aggressive. It also had its very small population of Negroes and Orientals, who were restricted de facto to certain ghetto areas and who experienced discrimination economically as well as socially. These minority groups were kept in line primarily because their own political leadership did not want to upset the balance they had achieved with the dominant leadership in the community and secondarily because sporadic attempts were made by some liberals to identify and deal with the more overt ramifications of the persistent problems.

Grandview's population increased rapidly during the war years as a result of the accumulation of war industries and the need for importing workers to maintain them. By 1950 the metropolitan area was heavily industrialized and supported a population in excess of a half a million, but only 3.5 percent of Grandview's population was non-white.

Between 1950 and 1960, although the census showed a population growth had occurred in the metropolitan area, the central city experienced a slight population decline. It was the first decennial period since 1860 to show a population decrease. Even so, the non-white population rose to only 5.6 percent of the total, and 4.2 percent of the 1960 population was Negro.

The influx of war workers began in 1942. Since the community could not provide for them through existing facilities, most of the Negroes and many other wartime workers were settled in a newly constructed, federally sponsored community. Here makeshift housing was erected and other community services were provided, such as schools, health services and fire and police protection. The setting was not too desirable. It was a relatively swampy area, well below flood level, and protected by earthen dikes. In 1948 an unusually large flood all but wiped out the community, which at one time attained the population of 40,000. After the flood, many Negroes found housing in an established Negro section of the city, Doville, where they have remained to the present. The problems of this area have increased both in scope and intensity.

The Doville area is somewhat naturally segregated by its geography. Whether or not there were any overt attempts to force or influence the Negroes to settle in the area is not known. However, one could probably assume that it was natural for the Negroes who migrated from the flood area and other sections of the nation to move into an area where they would be more readily accepted and where rental property could be obtained. After 1948 the schools in the Doville section became more heavily Negro--and at least one new school was built in the heart of the area which was almost entirely Negro.

INITIAL PROBES

A leader of the Negro community stated that Grandview really did not experience any racial difficulties until the manpower shortages during World War II necessitated the immigration of great numbers of workers into the area to work in the war industries. Seemingly, with little or no protest, the Negro was restricted to certain residential areas in which large numbers of Negro children were enrolled in a relatively small number of schools. Many of the schools, both elementary and secondary, in the Doville area became almost 100% Negro because Caucasians tended to move out as the Negro "invasion" increased.

In spite of the increasing Negro concentration the city's population did not seem to consider the problem acute until about 1960. By this time, the problems accentuated by school segregation had gained enough nation-wide publicity to cause some Grandview influentials to believe the issue might have some local implications. Even so, the problem of race and education was not a primary concern of the school board until it became the object of pressure from certain members of the national NAACP leadership. The board was informed by these leaders that they intended to apply pressure on the school board if some effort to alleviate the problem was not made. The school board had recently had a report from a committee of the National Education Association which stated that by comparison with other large cities, the Grandview Public Schools offered an above average educational program for Negroes. As a result, the school board did not accept the NAACP contention that a serious de facto segregation problem resulted in disparate educational opportunities for white and Negro children.

After a two-year lull, between 1960 and 1962, the national NAACP again charged that Grandview was maintaining a segregated school system. A New York attorney and national counsel for the NAACP, after making a survey, charged that Grandview was one of ten west coast cities with segregated schools. Although he accused other school boards in the country of gerrymandering school boundaries, he did not make the same accusation against Grandview. He did not offer a solution to the problem, but he did request that the school board study the situation.

About the same time that this request was made, the Human Rights Committee of the state education association addressed the Grandview School Board with the charge that Grandview's schools were racially imbalanced and provided information which illustrated the extent of this imbalance.

Following these charges, members of the school board and school administrators attempted to justify present policies and educational programs. An assistant superintendent of schools agreed that most of Grandview's Negroes were concentrated in the Doville area, but he stated that this was not something the school board could rectify. He declared: "Our policy is, and always has been, based on building schools where children are and establishing boundaries in relation to the capacity of the school."

School Superintendent John Roberts stated that he believed the NAACP charge of de facto segregation resulted from housing patterns rather than from any intention of the school district to segregate Grandview's Negro students. Roberts stated that although the NAACP had called for action, they "did not make any concrete proposals at all."

In support of the school administration and the school board, an editorial in one of the leading local newspapers stated that the segregation charge made by the NAACP was directed at the wrong agency. The editorial stated that the problem was really one which involved housing patterns; therefore, the charge brought by the NAACP should be directed at the whole city and not simply at the school administration or school board.

The school board formally entered the controversy with the complaint that they had not been approached directly with the segregation charge, although as Bert Smith, the chairman, stated, the charge was not new. He invited those with complaints to make them directly to the board so they could be considered. Another board member expressed concern that the board appeared to be on trial due to the newspaper accounts of the charges made by the NAACP. The chairman indicated that he was resentful of the fact that an outsider had attempted to stir up controversy, and that he felt the Grandview situation was "excellent." Another board member suggested that the board might consider the possibility of transporting some Negro students to other schools. This suggestion was not discussed further by the board.

The school board and the administration, who were aware of national unrest and realizing that the local controversy was expanding, had ordered the school district research department to study the problem in a number of high schools. For several years, school district officials had been concerned about the low performance levels of students in the schools with a high proportion of Negro pupils. The research staff had examined the student performance levels of one high school in question with the idea of discovering the reasons for the limited achievement attributed to the students in this particular school. The staff had recommended that the best way to solve the problem was to deal with it on the individual school level.

In spite of the evidence, the charges, and the concern of its staff, the board was unwilling to give any credence to the position that a serious educational problem existed and that it had the jurisdiction to do something about it. The result was that pressure was maintained and even increased by various groups.

To answer the charge that the pressure was from outside the community, the local chapter of the NAACP formally approached the school board and demanded action to eliminate the harmful effects of a segregated school situation. The initial step involved a letter to the board signed by a minister from the Doville area. The letter referred to a study conducted by the Grandview branch of the NAACP pertaining to the local situation and called for action by the school board directed toward solving the "rather acute" segregation problem which was resulting in an inferior education for many Negroes in the Grandview schools. The letter also suggested that the school board appoint a citizens' committee to study the segregation problem in the schools, and offered the assistance of the local NAACP in this endeavor.

In reply, Superintendent Roberts denied that the school system offered an inferior education to the Negro students. Other school officials admitted, as they had done before, that Doville had a high concentration of Negro students, but they again stated that this was due to the irregular housing patterns in the area rather than by school district intent.

One school board member replied that the NAACP was utilizing the "trite" formula that a school with a predominantly Negro population was segregated and, therefore, the education which the Negroes received was inferior. He stated that this was the classic syllogism and he was not ready to accept it. Bert Smith, the chairman of the board, declared that until the NAACP offered something more concrete, he would not bring the NAACP's request to the board's attention.

Several members of the NAACP expressed concern about the difficulties their group encountered in communicating with the board. They indicated that the major problem was, first, to convince the board to recognize publicly that a problem existed in Grandview and then to assume some responsibility for doing something about it.

In their informal and "off-the-record" sessions, the school board members were beginning to admit that some action on their part would have to be taken even though they were not willing to declare that segregation existed or that it was their problem. The chairman of the board publicly declined to admit that segregation existed and stated that even if integration were desirable, the school board could do nothing about it. The school board members generally took the position that the school board's responsibility was to provide sound education programs. As several board members stated, their job was education and social problems of a broader nature must be dealt with by other agencies. One Negro leader charged that the school board members were prejudiced against Negroes and therefore were not willing to move into the arena as a social force interested in social reform. There was, however, at least one sympathetic ear on the board, a member who was carefully assessing the strategies that could be employed to gain majority recognition and a policy which would lead to the solution of the problem.

In their quiet analysis, the board members took the position that any solution must be in harmony with sound educational practices and that the only possible solution would have to be educational in nature. Solutions with overt social and political implications would have to be avoided. Therefore, the basic problem was to find an educational "out." The members felt they had only two alternatives: (1) integration or (2) an enriched educational program. They could not accept integration as a valid solution because they then would have to recognize that segregation existed in Grandview. To carry out a program of integrating the schools involved more political and social factors than the board could control. As a result, the board began to show some interest publicly in an enrichment program proposed by

Robert Baumer, a representative of a small group known as the Higher Horizons.

According to Baumer, his proposal was not exclusively concerned with race. Rather, his program called for measures to resolve the problems of all of the culturally deprived. He stated, "Any program based solely on considerations of ethnic group identification, and aimed solely at wider distribution of children of one group or another, fails to recognize the more fundamental problems arising from social and cultural deprivation in widely scattered areas of our city."

At the same board meeting in which some interest was shown in Baumer's cultural enrichment program, representatives of the NAACP were present to again explain their position on segregated schools. Although they stated that they did not believe the school board and administration were intentionally providing inferior education in the segregated schools, they maintained that segregated schools were unequal and, therefore, inferior. Two of the NAACP spokesmen asked the board to meet its educational responsibilities by enacting positive programs to alleviate the effects of segregation. The board, however, took the position that it was not its responsibility to do something about a problem that was not entirely educational in nature.

During the first period of the conflict, in its communication with the school board, the NAACP expressed considerable distress that the board had taken the position that the problems of the culturally deprived should not be attacked solely on the basis of race. Spokesmen for the NAACP maintained that if the members of the school board accepted the Supreme Court's viewpoint that segregated schools were inherently inferior, the problems in Grandview would be obvious to them. The NAACP continued to press the school board to appoint a citizens' committee to study the situation and recommend procedures for alleviating the problem.

At this point, the school board was obviously not ready to consider such ideas as changing school boundaries or transporting students out of the Doville area, but it did express interest in establishing a study committee. One board member stated that a study committee was a good idea providing that the committee's focus be directed towards enriching the cultural environment of Doville's schools. While it was considering a study committee, the board also pointed out several measures already taken to alleviate the problem, such as the assignment of outstanding principals and teachers and other special services to the deprived areas. One member was quoted as saying: "I think we are doing a lot for these kids now."

These statements did not quiet the opposition. Although some felt that the board did not have to defend its position or record on special education and enrichment programs, they took issue with the board on its position that enrichment provided a sufficient solution to segregated schools. They charged that this policy was the typical way in which Grandview's influentials attempted to maintain the status quo.

CHAPTER 2

FORMATION OF A COALITION

The Negro leadership and the groups they represented, the NAACP and the Urban League, lacked the means to overcome the school board's refusal to acknowledge the segregation problem in Grandview. The Negro leaders, who at this early stage were not given sufficient access to the news media, realized that they simply had neither the political strength nor the resources necessary to force the conflict into the open public arena. Therefore, the Negro leadership adopted the strategy of obtaining the cooperation of a white group that was strong enough to force an open recognition of the problem. They believed if they could form a coalition of groups forceful and prestigious enough to gain the board's ear, the board and the community would rapidly recognize the necessity for acknowledging responsibility for dealing with the problem.

White Liberals Lend Support

Actually, it was not difficult for the Negro leadership to gain support from some white liberals. At the same time the initial actions were being taken by the more visible and militant Negro groups, some white liberals were becoming convinced that *de facto* segregation was a significant problem which the community would have to solve. In addition, they were becoming increasingly concerned about civil liberties and the national problem of segregation and its possible implications for the community.

The white liberal group was actually a coalition of two groups. The first was made up of ministers who became greatly concerned about the problem and later formed a group called the Commission on Interfaith Relations. One of the active members estimated that the group brought the general problem of civil rights to the attention of about 500 or 600 persons whom he described as being "important in the business community."

The second group was described by one of its members as a collection of self-starting activists who were involved in the American Civil Liberties Union and the Democratic Party. This group was primarily composed of lawyers, college professors, and public employees, generally either of the Jewish or Unitarian faiths.

Because these individuals shared common social, political, and intellectual interests, they began meeting informally to discuss these common interests. One member of the group, a professor of sociology at a local private college, brought to the attention of the group the problem of what he called the "racial imbalance" existing and increasing in the Grandview public schools. After analyzing the 1960 census data, he became concerned with the problems of racial minorities in Grandview.

When members of these two groups recognized that the Negro leadership was being rebuffed while the problem was becoming increasingly severe, they began to gather data to support their contention that racial imbalance existed in Grandview schools. On the basis of the statistics they gathered, they came to the conclusion that the Negro children in Doville were achieving at much lower levels than were their white counterparts in other sections of the city. They also came to the conclusion that teachers were assigned to Doville schools after they had been rejected by other schools.

Having publicly compared their information and perspectives, the two groups recognized the compatibility of their concerns and formed the Grandview Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools (CORIPS). Although most members became associated with the group voluntarily, several persons were selected to join because of their positions in the community. Through these means CORIPS grew until it attained about 150 members.

On February 9, 1963, a temporary working committee was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. J. W. Lawrence, minister of a large Protestant church. A formal statement of the CORIPS position was prepared, and prospective members were asked to join in the final preparation of the statement. The statement read, in part:

> CORIPS deems it essential that our children have an education that will enable each to achieve fully his or her individual potentiality. We recognize the great contributions which the school board and staff of the Grandview School District have made toward this objective.
>
> We are mindful that the United States Supreme Court has held that public schools segregated by law on the basis of race provide "inherently unequal" education. Such schools generate a "feeling of inferiority" in the Negro child. As the Supreme Court has said, the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the field of education has no place.
>
> We have no reason to believe that the effect of racial imbalance in the Grandview schools is any different, or that here, as elsewhere, racial imbalance in the school does not place a

> Negro child at a disadvantage.
>
> The evidence also shows that the racial imbalance in our public elementary schools is increasing and that the passage of time will increase, and not reduce the problem.

The statement pointed out that race relations in Grandview were as complex as in other communities. Where race problems were the issue in other communities, the school board faced the issues realistically and sometimes appointed citizens' committees to study the problem. The statement concluded:

> ... We urge the school board, therefore, to secure such a study here. The study should concern itself with the following three matters:
>
> 1. The extent of racial imbalance in the schools.
> 2. The effects of such imbalance, both on Negro and white children.
> 3. The specific recommendations for action by the school board to remedy racial imbalance.
>
> The citizens' committee offers to assist the school board in this endeavor and is ready here to help assure completion of the study.

During this time, there was considerable discussion throughout the community about racial and minority problems in Grandview. Most of the suggested alternatives and solutions were not in harmony with what the members of CORIPS thought necessary. Initially the group decided that it should avoid a public conflict; therefore, the decision was made to approach various members of the school board on an informal basis.

Consequently, certain members of CORIPS approached a board member, Mrs. Alice Jones, to request that the school board initiate a study of racial imbalance in the public schools. Mrs. Jones' immediate reaction was that the imbalance group was asking for a study of a problem for which they already had predetermined the answer. She brought to the attention of the board her meeting with the committee representing CORIPS and recommended that the superintendent and other board members meet with the group for further discussions, even though she felt the members of CORIPS did not have open minds on the subject.

For several weeks, a number of informal contacts and meetings were held between certain school board members and members of CORIPS. On February 19, 1963, Reverend Lawrence wrote to the Chairman of the School Board, stating:

> I am taking the liberty as chairman of the Grandview Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools to address this letter to you.
>
> Our committee is composed of over 100 citizens of our community, drawn from all walks of life. We are concerned with the problems of racial imbalance in the Grandview Public Schools.
>
> It is our hope and belief that we may be of assistance to the school board and the school district as a whole in considering this problem. Representatives of our committee would like to meet with the school board to present and discuss this common concern. In particular, we wish to discuss with you:
>
> 1. The need for a study by qualified persons of racial imbalance in the Grandview Public Schools.
> 2. The manner in which the study should be organized and programmed.
> 3. The manner in which the study is financed.
>
> May I suggest that we might meet with you and the other members of the board privately, if you so desire, rather than at a regular board meeting. It has been our thinking that the board might welcome an opportunity to review these matters initially in this fashion, and for this reason we have not approached the news media for any publicity as to the creation or purposes of our citizens committee.

As a result of this request and the informal contacts, members of the committee representing CORIPS were invited to meet with the school board on March 8, 1963, in an open, regular meeting. After one of the informal meetings, Mrs. Jones made a report to the school board. In that memorandum, Mrs. Jones pointed out that she met informally with several members of CORIPS on March 6, 1963. According to the memorandum:

> The five people with whom I met indicated that they are the persons who will be carrying the responsibility for activities approved by the committee. Those people whose names appear on the membership list have simply indicated their wish that the school board initiate a study of racial imbalance in the schools and their concern for a problem as it is stated in the purpose.

Present at the luncheon meeting were Reverend Lawrence, the attorney for the ACLU, a professor of political science at a local college, the executive secretary of the Urban League, and the vice-president of the NAACP, who also was an attorney in the Grandview Office of the U. S. Attorney.

Mrs. Jones indicated that the CORIPS committee wished to press for the study in such a way that there would not be an unfavorable community reaction to the public schools. The memorandum stated:

I could not speak for the board, but pointed out that this board had not previously initiated any new programs until the educational effect was positively established.

1. The present board, superintendents, and curriculum advisory council are committed to the "principles of education" which we adopted last year. I gave them copies of that statement.
2. The present boundary policy is based upon principles of equality of opportunity, but neighborhood location of schools is also essential to many principles to which we subscribe in the best interests of the child and the learning process.
3. Education, itself, is an instrument of social change. Our hope is to develop the potential of each child so that he may adjust to social change and have some intellectual tools for determining his own influence on social change.

It is my understanding that they wish to address themselves only to the deficiencies of a Negro child who is educated in a school which has a substantially higher percentage of Negro children than occurs in the general population.

Three suggestions were advanced:

1. The large number of cities which have launched studies of racial imbalance indicate a national concern that Grandview should not ignore. The committee is studying Berkeley, Oakland, Detroit, Denver, and Plainfield. Greatest interest seemed to center upon the last two named.
2. Dr. Allyn [a professor of political science at a local college] sees the possibility of a sociological study, control groups based upon constant education and economical standards and measurable factors related to attitudes, aspirations, etc., examined among the Negro children and the white children.
3. The committee prefers that any study launched be initiated by the school board and be assigned to a committee made up of members of our staff working with interested citizens. This plan is given priority over a study made by our staff alone, or a study made by citizens alone.

In March, 1963, there was an exchange of letters between Allan Rogers, a member of the school board, and Dr. Allyn, one of the five members of CORIPS who had met with Mrs. Jones. In his letter, Rogers indicated that he favored action to improve the opportunities of Negroes in Grandview and pointed out that special attention was being given to the five predominantly Negro schools in which the student achievement level was markedly lower than that of other schools in the district. He stated his own opinion that the low level of achievement of these students was not necessarily caused by segregation, but more probably by the lack of an adequate family and cultural background. Although he conceded that a study of the kind which CORIPS had demanded could produce worthwhile results, he indicated that such an expensive undertaking would be unwarranted, in his opinion, unless there was conclusive evidence that (1) the neighborhood school system is detrimental from an educational standpoint, and (2) that an economically feasible alternative (other than transporting children) could be determined to correct the situation.

In his reply, Dr. Allyn agreed that the educational achievement of students is affected by both home and school environments, but pointed out that it was only within the school district's power to modify the environment of the schools. He indicated that the issue went beyond the single problem of improving the educational achievement of Negro children to the necessity of training for greater participation by Negroes in the total life of the community. He cited the successes of the schools in teaching past generations of immigrant children to participate in the main current of American life and suggested that greater efforts must be made by the schools to help the Negro to attain the same level of participation. According to Dr. Allyn, the study was proposed by CORIPS, not as an attack upon the members of the school board, whom he praised for their special interest in the Negro schools, but as a means of developing objective and intelligent remedies to the problems caused by racial imbalance in the Grandview schools. In conclusion, he conceded that the problems were extremely difficult ones, but he urged the board to deal with them in some other way than by simply beefing up its Negro schools without making efforts toward reducing the segregation therein.

In spite of a series of meetings over a period of weeks between the representatives of the school board and certain members of CORIPS, no mutually satisfactory solution to the issue could be found. Therefore, for the second time, CORIPS' leaders decided to ask for a hearing at a formal school board meeting. In a letter dated April 8, 1963, Dr. Lawrence wrote as follows to Mr. Bert Smith, chairman of the board:

> You will, of course, recall our exchange of correspondence regarding the Grandview Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools of which I am chairman.
>
> Since that exchange, we have been privileged to meet informally at luncheon with you, Mrs. Jones, Mr. Allen Rogers, and Dr. Roberts, and to exchange ideas, preliminary to a formal presentation at a regular school board meeting, concerning the re-

> quest of the Citizens Committee for a study of racial imbalance in the schools of the district; and I believe these conversations have been of mutual benefit.
>
> On behalf of the Citizens Committee I wish now th ask that we be given an opportunity at the school board meeting scheduled for the evening of May 13, 1963, to present, formally, our request that the school board initiate a study of racial imbalance in the schools of the district. Our presentation should not take longer than 25 minutes.
>
> It is our hope that as a result of this meeting, the school board will take steps necessary to bring into being a study of racial imbalance substantially conforming to the type of study which the Citizens Committee had designed in the outline of study dated March 29, 1963, copies of which have been placed in your hands.
>
> I would appreciate being advised that the matter has been placed on the board's calendar for May 13, 1963.

This letter resulted in more informal meetings but no definite action. Members of CORIPS as a result, decided to go to the public to gather strength and support for their particular request that the school board initiate a study of racial imbalance in Grandview's Public Schools. On May 1, 1963, at a press conference, the CORIPS chairman, Dr. Lawrence, formally presented the CORIPS proposal to the public:

> Our group is drawn from all races and creeds, all walks of life in resident neighborhoods. We have joined together because of our concern that, when children have no opportunity to live and learn together in an integrated school situation, they are not being trained to live in an open society. Each year an increasing number of Grandview children are graduating from elementary schools where the racial composition differs radically from that of the community as a whole...
>
> These Negro children--the victims of de facto segregation--have not received the kind of educational experience which will enable them to live at ease in integrated communities. Many will be unable to participate fully in the life and work of our land. Many will be blighted by "feelings of inferiority" which the Supreme Court found to be a byproduct of segregated schools...
>
> The Grandview Citizens Committee, a broadly based group with over 125 members, has for the last four months been considering how the Grandview community might best deal with de facto segregation in the schools. An outline for a year-long study has been developed and the committee plans to ask the school board to appoint a study commission of respected lay men and women. The lay study commission would be assisted by professional personnel from the school board staff and from the faculties of colleges in the metropolitan area...

The study was to be divided into the following three parts:

1. The extent of racial imbalance in the schools;
2. The effects of such imbalance on both Negro and white children;
3. An evaluation and recommendation of remedies within the school system which the school board might use.

Dr. Lawrence was quoted as saying:

> In our studies of the issues, we have considered the possible solutions. These might include the placement of new schools in such locations that de facto segregation would be minimized, redrawing some of the individual school boundary lines, and perhaps bussing some Negro students to schools well beyond the areas where they live.

Finally Dr. Lawrence made the following statement:

> Our Grandview school board, with its history of courage and innovation is fully capable of continuing this great tradition, and we are confident that it will do so.

Following the conference, an editorial in a leading newspaper indicated that CORIPS was asking only for a study of the racial imbalance situation in the city and was not calling for the school board to do something about the problem of segregation as the NAACP had done earlier. It also stated that perhaps a study would be useful, but at the same time pointed out that the situation was not nearly as critical as CORIPS would lead the community to believe.

The Roles of the Administrators

As the issue developed and it became apparent to the board and administration that they would not be able to contain the conflict, the Superintendent of Schools decided his role was to serve as a communication link for the board and community groups while the board was engaged in developing the school district's position or policy on the issue. This does not mean that the superintendent was inactive or that he compromised his educational leadership. The superintendent along with several board members met frequently and informally with the leadership of CORIPS to try to formulate a decision that would be compatible with the divergent views in the community.

In an endeavor to bring first-hand information to the board, Superintendent Roberts communicated with a large number of community leaders, including the leaders of the Negro community. The liberal groups and the Negro leadership saw the superintendent as performing in two ways. They saw him as a good school man who was politically smooth and who was especially competent in dealing with people. The Negro leadership during these initial stages perceived the superintendent as leaning toward their position in private conversations but assuming a more opposing position--the same position as the board--in public. One of the leaders of CORIPS said he "saw the superintendent as helpful but certainly not a crusader for the project." He also saw the superintendent not as a director but as a group worker whose advice was respected and taken when it was given. This same individual in referring to Superintendent Roberts stated, "The superintendent lets groups decide."

It was the feeling of one of the leaders of CORIPS that the first reaction of the school administrators was defensive because the action of CORIPS was interpreted as an attack on the school system. Because it was believed that the school administrators favored developing compensatory educational programs as the best approach to the problem, it was also believed that they, the administrative officers, feared that CORIPS might push the board too hard in another direction. The administrators were obviously concerned whether or not the community would support the extra costs involved in extensive programs to relieve the situation.

Superintendent Roberts saw the problem as involving a series of issues: (1) integration, (2) rising local concern about the civil rights movement, (3) the active character of the groups trying to influence the board and (4) the national concern regarding the civil rights movement. As the superintendent dealt with these issues, he was confronted by various individuals and groups who attempted formally and informally to persuade him toward their diverse positions. According to Superintendent Roberts, these groups generally avoided pushing a particular plan, and specified that particular answers to the problem would have to come from the board. Roberts also stated that he generally tried to avoid these conferences, particularly those he felt were intended to influence his recommendations.

DIVERSE EXPECTATIONS

By this stage in the conflict, there appeared to be two groups that had essentially different approaches to solving the problem. Their goals appeared to be the same, that is, both wanted to do something to alleviate the consequences of racial imbalance, but their means for accomplishing the ends were different. One group advocated an educational and cultural enrichment program as a solution that would fulfill the needs of those students in the racially imbalanced areas. Most administrators felt comfortable with this position. The second group--generally members of CORIPS--did not agree in principle with the enrichment plan nor did they believe that it was extensive enough to solve the problem of racial imbalance. Therefore, they took the position that the school board should initiate a study of the situation, determine its effects, and take action to solve the problem.

Although the NAACP appeared to be cooperating with CORIPS, they were at the same time publicly taking a more militant position. They were calling for a total end to de facto segregation and complete integration. As perceived by Superintendent Roberts, the NAACP consistently emphasized four points: (1) that the board needed to recognize the existence of de facto segregation in Grandview; (2) that de facto segregation meant inferior education; (3) that the problem should be investigated and a plan prepared to correct de facto segregation; and (4) that the plan should be implemented with all possible speed.

The school board at this time was in a rather difficult position. To admit that de facto segregation existed also meant that some kind of integration program would have to be initiated. The board members were not willing to go this far--at least they took the position that the citizens of Grandview would not accept such a program. The other possibility was to admit that many of Grandview's school children, both black and white, were not receiving an education commensurate with their needs and to initiate for them an enriched educational program.

On a more personal level, and as reported by several school board members and administrators, those people calling for recognition of de facto segregation as a problem in Grandview were "radicals." One board member charged that at least two of the leaders of CORIPS were irresponsible in their demands upon the board.

One school administrator stated that the NAACP and other pressure groups admitted that they were not offering solutions, and when they did they tended to be simplistic solutions to what the board and administration considered complex problems. According to one board member, when the board began to consider the implications of the problem it decided not to consider the narrow syllogism that de facto segregated schools meant inferior education and, therefore, Negro children in Grandview were experiencing discrimination in their schools.

There were some differences among board members and administrators in their perceptions of what the various groups wanted. One key administrator stated that the major purpose of these groups was to make the public aware of the problem, and that it was the school board's and administrators' job to initiate solutions. Some of the board members, however, felt that each group had specific programs and solutions for which they wanted to mobilize support.

In spite of these differences, all board members and administrators agreed that something had to be done. It appears that although the school board was attempting to avert conflict with CORIPS by promising to consider financing a study, it was at the same time giving very careful consideration to the development of an enrichment program proposed by two professors of a local college.

One of the professors, Dr. Grey, had been cooperating with CORIPS but had made certain presentations to the school board which did not meet with the ready approval of a majority of the CORIPS membership. Following indication of some disapproval of his position, he made a complete break with CORIPS. There is some reason to believe that the members of CORIPS thought the school board had accepted his proposal. As a consequence, they called a press conference on May 1 to indicate that Dr. Grey's proposal for an enrichment program was not acceptable and would have no effect upon diverting the impending controversy. According to Dr. Grey, the most important issue was how to improve the educational opportunity of the students in the depressed areas. He felt that this was the type of program which both the school board and the community would find acceptable.

At a school board meeting held on May 6, 1963, the school board formally adopted Dr. Grey's proposal for a cultural enrichment program. The cultural enrichment program was reportedly designed to improve the educational, sociological, and cultural conditions of Grandview's Negro children. It was estimated that the program would cost about $1,855,000 and would be financed by groups interested in improving the cultural environment in which Doville youth were maturing. The long-range goals of the program were to improve teaching materials, adapt programs to specific needs, and utilize special classes to improve the Negroes' employability, lower the crime rate, and reduce the illegitimate birth rate in Doville. According to the plan's supporters, if this could be accomplished, the Negroes' ability to live successfully in an integrated society would be improved.

CHAPTER 3

SHARPENING THE DIVERSITIES

Reactions to Enrichment

The school board's decision was disturbing to some of the members of CORIPS. They claimed that they had been told around the first of May that the May 13 meeting was the earliest date that the school board could consider their request for a study. They had been given no indication that the board would endorse the cultural enrichment program before talking with them.

In a news release on May 13, Dr. Lawrence indicated that if the board did not act soon to end segregation the matter might be taken to court. He said:

> The most expeditious way to address this problem we think is for the board to charge the study commission to include in its report appropriate remedies as well as the extent and effects of racial imbalance. The board will then be able to make a timely judgment as the agency with basic responsibility on what remedies are needed and which are appropriate and should be applied...
>
> We are firmly convinced that a program of curriculum enrichment within a racially imbalanced school is not the remedy for racial imbalance. We applaud, of course, any efforts to enrich the curriculum and educational proram of our schools, whether or not they must include appropriate procedures for bringing Negroes and white children in better balance in our schools. Granting that some of our segregated schools may have the finest staff, and the finest curriculum in the district, their gross racial imbalance remains and a new standard "separate but better" schools is not an answer to this urgent problem.

A leading newspaper stated that CORIPS' request was disregarded because many of the school board members questioned the need for such a study.

Those groups calling for a study believed the cultural enrichment program "missed the boat," and did nothing to integrate the *de facto* segregated schools. A newspaper described its perception of the NAACP position as follows:

> The NAACP feels that regardless of how much education and culture is pumped into the Negro children's head, they will still nurture the attitude of second class citizens if educated in schools which are clearly all Negro in attendance.

This was not an entirely just account of its position because the NAACP did commend those concerned with making some effort to improve the Negro's status. Many members of CORIPS still hoped that the board would consider favorably the request for a study and would address itself constructively to the problem of segregation. Soon after, however, the school board appeared to turn down their request for a study by questioning its need. Several of the school board members openly attacked the position which CORIPS had taken.

One member publicly informed CORIPS:

> You are not getting to the root of the problem by trying to have the school board correct it. If the 125 well known people on your committee got to work on the basic problem--housing and job discrimination--you would be doing more to solve it. It seems like it is just easier for a group like yours to attack the schools.

A second member agreed, stating:

> I can't see any vice by leaving large numbers of Negroes in any given school as long as it is not by law. Maybe Negroes are made to feel more inferior by groups such as this one pointing out that something is wrong.

A third member again reiterated the board's position that racial imbalance was essentially a community-wide problem not simply one related to the schools.

Two other school board members took CORIPS to task because its proposed study would include no school board members or school administrators. One stated:

> It appears to me that your committee has some doubts about the capabilities of the school district to study the issue--why would members of the school board then be capable to decide on and implement suggestions of the committee?

In spite of these reacitons, at the board meeting where these charges were made, the chairman decided to appoint a subcommittee to study CORIPS' proposal further and stated that it would be dealt with at the next board meeting.

As could be expected, CORIPS, NAACP, and other members of the coalition were disappointed by the board's actions. Many of them felt that they had been unsuccessful in convincing the school board that a problem existed. Reverend Lawrence stated that he believed his committee had not convinced the board that a problem existed and that they had been "sold down the river."

Pressure Increased

The only recourse left to either CORIPS or the NAACP was to maintain and increase pressure. This was accomplished in a variety of ways. Members of the two groups attended board meetings and other public meetings to discuss the racial issue in Grandview's segregated schools. They kept the problem in front of the community and school officials through the news media. They were in almost constant contact with school officials either by telephone or by personal visits. They obtained information from administrators which they used to substantiate their claims before both the community and the board.

Individual members of CORIPS varied in their perceptions of the board's motivations and in their reactions to their meeting with the board on May 13. One member publicly accused the board of attempting to evade the issue and to confuse the public. Another member stated that the board was playing politics and that he believed there had been a conspiracy on the board's part to arrange the May 6 meeting ahead of the meeting that was to consider CORIPS' study request. He said, "Negroes are not at all pleased with the school board's Monday night action. If the board does not give some indication that it is going to try to work with the problem I would expect an NAACP suit against the school district before the summer is out." Reverend Lawrence, however, stated his plan would be to wait to see what the board's next move would be.

However, Dr. Lawrence did not do this. In a letter dated May 20, 1963, he wrote as follows to the chairman of the board:

> At the close of the school board meeting on May 13, 1963, you stated that the school board would try to have an answer at its meeting of May 27, 1963, to the request of the Committee on Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools. Our request was and is that the school board, and I quote from our May 13, 1963 statement:
>
> 1. Formally establish a study commission, adequately financed, of from 15 to 21 representative and intelligent citizens chosen by procedures satisfactory to the school board and the community, and assisted by professional personnel of the school district staff and faculties of colleges in our metropolitan region.
> 2. Charge the study commission to study honestly, objectively, and openly and report to the school board not later than May 1, 1964, concerning
>   (a) the extent of racial imbalance in our public schools
>   (b) the effects of such imbalance on the education of our Negro and white children, and

> (c) its recommendations for needed action by the school board to remedy that racial imbalance.
>
> I should add that the suggestion that several members of the school board serve on the study commission is excellent. Permit me at this time to renew our request for a study as stated above.
>
> At the meeting on May 13, 1963, I stated in my remarks that we wished the school board at that meeting to give a general approval of our request, with details of procedure and financing to be worked out in the succeeding weeks. The school board did not see fit, at the May 13, 1963 meeting, to indicate its general approval, and quite frankly, our citizens committee and supporting organizations, and apparently the press as well, received a definite impression that the school board was not at all in sympathy with the substance of our request. I sincerely hope that this impression was mistaken.
>
> The request presented by the Citizens Committee on May 13, 1963 is substantially identical with the proposal contained in the statement of the Citizens Committee on February 19, 1963 of which you and others on the school board and staff received copies at the end of February. The outline of study preferred by our committee was placed before you on March 29, 1963. You will, of course, recall that the request was informally, but intensively, discussed by me and representatives of our committee with you and other members of the school board, and with Dr. Roberts, in several conversations in March and April. I mention this to emphasize that we not only appreciate the time which you and others in the school district have spent in consideration of our request prior to May 13, 1963 but also to emphasize respectfully, that it appears timely at the meeting of May 27, 1963 for the school board to indicate whether or not it approves the study commission, as proposed, and with a mandate consonant with our request.
>
> Accordingly, permit me to state that we will be present at the meeting of May 27, 1963 and we ask that the matter of the request of the Citizens Committee be placed on the agenda.

The request made in the above letter was disregarded. The school board stated at the May 27 meeting that it was not prepared to discuss the racial imbalance study proposal. However, the chairman announced that the board would do so at a special meeting on June 3.

SUPERINTENDENT ASSIGNED ADMINISTRATIVE STUDY

Apparently, due to the pressure being brought to bear by CORIPS, the board made a decision at the June 3 special board meeting to assign Superintendent Roberts and several other administrators the task of making an administrative study on racial problems in Grandview's schools. Superintendent Roberts and his staff were assigned the task of studying the following questions:

1. Are any racial groups deprived of the equal educational opportunity in Grandview schools, and if so, how to correct them?
2. What may be done to improve the achievement of students in culturally deprived areas?
3. What might be done to eliminate racial prejudices among children in Grandview schools?

The immediate reaction to the administrative study by the CORIPS membership was one of distress. They stated that they believed they had simply not convinced the board that a real segregation problem existed in Grandview's schools. One reaction came from a Negro minister, who said:

> What you offer is a study in the guise of a study. As long as you continue to face the racial issue with your heads in the sand, the next question is what action can we take--and believe me we can take action! I am a Negro and I think I can speak for the Negroes when saying that your action tonight does not leave us satisfied.

Some of the school board members' reactions were equally as hostile. One member stated that the board's job was to provide a sound education and he was more interested in insuring educational equality within the schools than with integrating the city. He charged that CORIPS was attempting to pressure the school board into a quick decision. He said that he could see little warrant for, or support of, a study which CORIPS was advocating, and that the problem was really one of social and economic conditions, not one of schools. He concluded that there was very little community support for CORIPS' proposal.

The chairman of the NAACP replied, "I have serious doubts whether we will support this (the school board's action)." He stated that he believed the school board was moving too slowly and the study proposal given to Dr. Roberts and his administrative staff was not broad enough. He also indicated that an NAACP suit against the school board was imperative unless something was done immediately. Other Negro leaders joined in the criticism, and one stated, "You have already been deliberating a year on this problem that concerns thousands of brown youngsters. You see, gentlemen, youngsters don't have the time that we have. Every day that goes by means that they are suffering that much more."

School board members again stated that they resented the pressure being brought to bear upon them. They claimed that most of the Negro children in the Grandview area were receiving an excellent education and that the school board could not assume the responsibility of integrating the schools because the school board's responsibility was only to provide a sound educational system.

In reply, the chairman of the NAACP indicated that the NAACP may now have to take a different position from that of CORIPS. He stated that if the CORIPS' position was such that the NAACP could not support it, then the NAACP would terminate its association with CORIPS. He also threatened to put the NAACP plan of action into effect if the school board did not begin to take immediate steps to alleviate racial imbalance in the schools.

In a memorandum to the school board, dated June 21, 1963, after reiterating the charge given to him by the school board on June 4, Superintendent Roberts stated:

> These questions are particularly appropriate to ask of and about a school system. They assume that the public schools accept broad responsibility for the educational growth of children. They aim at the diagnosis of educational deficiencies and the application of the most promising techniques and remedies. They contemplate possibilities for improvement which are in harmony with the district's ongoing program of instructional research and development.
>
> Assuming that the questions are to be placed in the hands of a study committee as will be recommended later in this memorandum, some refinement of the questions may be in order. However, a group of able citizens, well informed concerning the problems and with appropriate professional services at its disposal would not want or need a highly prescriptive assignment. Rather such a committee would work best if free to exercise a large measure of independent judgment in the definition of problems and methods of inquiry.

Roberts then went on to suggest other areas of concern that the study committee might investigate, and then stated as follows:

> A committee should be appointed to carry forward the studies which in their judgment would get the most accurate and useful answers to the questions posed by the board.

Roberts also recommended that the committee be representative of civic, cultural, educational, religious, racial, and social groups-- and that such selection procedures be utilized to prevent its domination by special interest groups. He further recommended that the committee be appointed by the board, report directly to the board, and disband following the report of its recommendations.

CHAPTER 4

COMMITTEE ON RACE AND EDUCATION

Decision and Reaction

Within five days after Roberts made his recommendations, the school board voted to appoint a committee of citizens to study the racial imbalance problem in the schools.

The resolution of the board in creating the Committee stated:

Resolution

> Resolved, that this board does hereby order that there shall be constituted a committee of citizens of the Grandview area to be appointed by the board as quickly as reasonably possible which shall be responsible for studying the following three questions and reporting to the board its findings:
>
> (1) Does the Grandview school district, to any extent, deprive the children of one race of educational opportunities equal to those of other races? If so, what corrective steps should be taken?
>
> (2) What might be done to improve achievement of students in culturally deprived areas of the city in meeting the educational objectives of this school system?
>
> (3) What might the school system do through its educational processes to eliminate unreasoned prejudice in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race?
>
> Such committee shall be free to consider any information and approaches which it may deem helpful for the purpose of finding factual and logical answers to such questions. The questions asked by the board are intended to include, among other things, all aspects of the problem of the education of disadvantaged children, such as the motivation of learners, the attitudes of parents, the racial distribution of children in the Grandview schools, the qualifications of teachers, methods of grouping, the racial characteristics of learners, the effect, if any, of racial distribution on achievement, deficiencies of homes and communities and any other conditions or circumstances relevant to the questions posed above.
>
> Such committee is to commence work as soon as possible after it is appointed and is to report to the board with respect to each problem which it undertakes to study as quickly as possible consistent with the formation of sound conclusions and in any event is to give the board

> a progress report on January 1, 1964, and again on June 1, 1964. The district shall provide to such committee such secretarial staff and such accommodations as it may reasonably require, shall designate a member of its administrative staff to work in liaison with the committee and upon request by the committee shall consider employment or appointment of other personnel to assist the committee in connection with its work. The committee shall feel free to present requests to the board from time to time that it deems important that there be provision of some budgetary allowance to it or that personnel be appointed to service to it.

The first reaction of the various concerned groups was generally favorable. The chairman of the NAACP stated that he was happy to see some progress made in reference to the problem and hoped that competent, professional people would be appointed. However, he felt that the time allocated was too long and that the job could be completed in two months. One citizen accused the board of hedging. He said that the study committee would have little to do with the basic problem, that is, integration. A representative of a group which called itself the States Rights Party inquired about the possibility of bussing students out of Doville. After he was told that the study committee concept did not preclude any solution, he stated that his group would concur "until and unless you start moving pupils from one district to another." Reverend Lawrence, chairman of CORIPS, indicated that he was satisfied with the board's decisions to this point.

A student group also voiced its objection to the projected time to be taken for the study. As reported in the press, this student group was an unofficial wing of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and believed the citizens committee should include some students.

The board was still not absolutely convinced that their decision to appoint an outside citizens group was the correct one. There were some feelings of insecurity among the board members until they were able to convince Judge Allan Green, a former school board member and respected lawyer and jurist, to take the chairmanship of the committee. One school board member stated that Green's appointment was the single most important action taken by the board. Leaders of CORIPS agreed that Green's appointment was a careful and calculated tactical move on the board's part. Green was considered the best man from the board's viewpoint because he best represented the viewpoint of the board, because he had the reputation of being a liberal, was very powerful politically, had the ability to get things done, and also because he was considered capable of mustering great strength with the Grandview power structure. One other board member indicated that the basic decision to appoint the outside study group hinged upon Green's accepting the chairmanship.

Judge Green did not agree to take the position until he received certain commitments from the board, including the right of personal veto of prospective committee members. He informed the baord that he wanted good people who were power holders and decision makers to serve on the committee. He indicated that he wanted the committee loaded with corporate executives, not vice-presidents, public relations men, or underlings. In brief, Green wanted the people on his committee to be top level men. He also asked for and received a commitment of funds, and the right of access to all necessary records and personnel in the school system in order to do the job.

The board set up the following criteria for appointment of members to the committee: (1) members had to be community influentials; (2) there was to be some Negro representation; (3) some leaders from the intellectual community were to be included; and (4) members had to be "hard workers" with some similar experiences. Furthermore, the board indicated that they did not want individuals on the committee who had fixed opinions about the problem they were to study. Apparently the board was not interested in a committee that represented a cross section of the community nor one that would represent the viewpoints of various organizations. The board wanted on the committee people who could make decisions and who could influence others in the community to accept their decisions. According to Superintendent Roberts, the term "blue ribbon" committee came up early, and he thought it came from the press.

In general, most members of the board, and with a few exceptions the committee members themselves, believed that the membership of the Committee on Race and Education (CRE) represented Grandview very well. The committee was described as well-balanced, as including some very liberal viewpoints, and as unbiased. Only one or two members of CORIPS were appointed due to the general board feeling that the CORIPS approach to solving the community's problems was "too impractical." Some board members felt that CORIPS members would have been troublemakers and agitators if appointed to the citizens study group.

The school board was also very cautious in its selection of the Negro members of the committee. The ones who were selected were, at least in the board's judgment, more conservative in their views and would be in harmony with the rest of the group. Some members of the NAACP and CORIPS were reportedly invited to serve but refused because they believed they could be more effective operating outside of the citizens group.

The chairman of NAACP stated that if any of the NAACP leaders accepted membership on the Committee on Race and Education (CRE) it would appear that they were acquiescing in what the Committee was attempting to do. Dr. Lawrence, Chairman of CORIPS, indicated that he had been asked to be a member but refused. One Negro member of CORIPS commented that most of the members of the Committee on Race and Education (CRE) were people who were not especially knowledgeable of the problems existing in the school district. He believed that he was appointed because he was a Negro professional man and because his past activities showed he was a moderate. He did not believe the Negro community was well represented.

Some board members felt that the Negroes on the committee were the outstanding and most competent professional people in the Negro community. One board member stated that the Negro power structure was not involved because there was no continuous Negro power structure in Grandview. The "poor" were not represented, but according to another board member, this was done by design because the school board's intent was to set up a blue ribbon committee of men and women who had the ability to get things done.

The president of NAACP was very critical of the committee in the sense that he believed it to be part of the old "Anglo-Saxon rut." He felt it was normal procedure for the white man to appoint individuals who had very little knowledge of the intricacies of the problem. This kind of committee, he contended, gets bogged down with data in an attempt to gain the knowledge necessary to make decisions. According to him, CRE was just a part of the establishment's traditional pattern of solving problems.

Although the decision to appoint a citizens committee was made on June 24, 1963, it wasn't until the first week in August that the board appointed Judge Allan Green as chairman of the citizens committee. Apparently it took some time for the board to decide upon a chairman and round up a sufficient number of members to join the study group.

According to one board member, when Judge Green accepted the chairmanship of the committee on August 13, 1963, and when other influential individuals began accepting membership on CRE, the board became convinced that their decision was a correct one. The board had committed itself to accepting whatever the CRE proposed, and seemingly had complete confidence in the committee.

CORIPS and NAACP Maintain Pressure Upon CRE

To prevent CRE from being complacent, the NAACP maintained its critical role. Oscar Jeffers, President of NAACP, speaking before the City Club, complained about the amount of money that the study would cost and he reminded the members that they, as representatives of the power structure of the city, should be aware that the goal of NAACP was progress and the strategy was constant pressure. He indicated that although there had been no trouble in Grandview to this point, conflict was not beyond the realm of possibility.

NAACP's effectiveness was reduced at this time because of some internal difficulties. A day after Jeffers' speech, a member of the executive board resigned, stating that the NAACP was now taking a position with which he could not agree. He was reportedly the second NAACP leader to have resigned within a two-week period. About a month later, the Director of Grandview's Urban League stated that in his opinion Grandview's Negro population was so small there was no reason for the schools to be segregated.

After these occurences, the NAACP threatened to picket a particular housing project which President John F. Kennedy was to dedicate. It was reported that President Kennedy cancelled his visit to Grandview because of this threat, and several individuals were critical of Jeffers because of his role in planning the protest. A few days later, the NAACP picketed the Housing Authority and called for the resignation of its chairman and the executive director.

CORIPS also continued to play its role. In a memorandum, dated July 9, 1963, which was attached to a copy of the resolution by the school board which contained the charge to be given to the newly appointed citizens committee, Dr. Lawrence stated as follows:

> I attach a copy of the resolution formalized by the Grandview School Board on July 8. It represents what the working committee feels is a constructive move which deserves our full support. We shall, of course, very much stay in business in order to monitor the work of the new study committee. Your own help and support have been most gratifying to me and to the working committee, and I am personally happy with the progress we have been able to make.

Later in October, Reverend Lawrence sent the following letter to all members of CORIPS:

> All of us connected with the Committee on Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools were gratified by the School Board's selection of a study committee under Judge Allan Green's chairmanship. It is a strong committee and its existence clearly justifies the great efforts that were made last spring and summer to bring it into being. We hope its efforts will be of benefit to the entire community.
>
> I am sure you share my feeling that it is important that our Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance continue its work. I believe we can perform a significant public service by following closely the work of the study committee, and by placing ourselves in a position to make constructive suggestions regarding its work. Our purpose, of course, is to assist the study committee and school board to formulate an effective plan to eliminate *de facto* school segregation in our public elementary schools.
>
> Our efforts towards desegregation of Grandview's elementary schools will undoubtedly be strengthened by the establishment of CLEO (Citizens League for Equal Opportunity) and the increasing strength and activity of other community organizations interested in equal educational opportunity. I am confident by working together we can increase our mutual effectiveness.
>
> Accordingly, I will ask our working committee, which has served us well in the past, to continue its regular informal sessions, and we'll keep you informed of its work. All of us count on your continued support and participation.

CORIPS remained intact throughout the proceedings of the CRE study and made contact both formally and informally to influence the outcome of the study.

CHAPTER 5

WORKINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

The school board gave the Committee on Race and Education complete freedom to proceed with its work. On September 20, 1963, at the first full meeting of the committee, the school board chairman suggested that the committee's work had become even more important due to recent occurrences in the Doville area. He said that the idea to appoint the outside committee group was a good one and that the school board was following a "hands off" policy by giving free rein to the committee to pursue any lines of investigation that it believed necessary.

The school board facilitated the committee's work in every way possible. It provided meeting rooms, secretarial help, and travel allowances (to permit the various subcommittees to pursue lines of research considered to be desirable to find an appropriate solution to the problem). It instructed its administrative staff to provide assistance as needed but in no way to interfere with the work of the committee. It also provided a budget for the committee, as requested by the chairman, of $75,000. This budget enabled the committee to employ an executive director who was not an employee of the school district, who would be directly responsible to Judge Green, and who would coordinate the use of resources according to the directors of the committee.

The committee members had expressed fears that educators and the school board would perhaps influence the final outcome too much. The school board and the school administration, however, did not become involved in the work of the committee unless requested to do so. One committee member stated that with few exceptions the school administration was "too frightened to do anything." However, it does appear that the school board and school administration did provide one very important service for the committee by warding off some of the pressures that might otherwise have reached it.

Perceptions of Goals

The school board had charged CRE to find answers to three questions:

1. Does the Grandview school district, to any extent, deprive the children of one race of educational opportunities equal to those of other races? If

so, what corrective steps should be taken?

2. What might be done to improve achievement of students in culturally deprived areas of the city in meeting the educational objectives of this school system?
3. What might the school system do through its educational processes to eliminate unreasoned prejudice in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race?

Not all of the members of CRE shared the same opinion as to what this charge really meant. One individual interpreted the charge to mean that they were to find solutions for a recognized educational need. Another member of the committee, who later became a school board member, agreed that CRE's purpose was to find solutions that were based on sound educational principles and to develop a program which would eliminate the conflict or at least reduce the pressure placed upon the school board. Another committee member believed that the charge to CRE was not only to improve the educational opportunities for Doville children but also to find a solution to a very complicated social problem.

Early in the study process, it was decided that the best way to solve this difficult social problem was to begin with facts and not rely upon slogans or rumors. However, there were different perceptions as to whether or not the problem had been precisely identified and as to what, if anything, could be done educationally to solve the problem, once identified.

Finally, there was a relatively small group of individuals who believed that CRE should address itself to the basic issue of integration, which could be considered the only real solution for the schools.

Organization of CRE

The first full committee meeting was held on September 20, 1963. At this meeting Chairman Green stated that the committee had two very important tasks: (1) to study the Grandview minority situation; and (2) to make honest recommendations for solving the problem. He indicated that CRE membership could expect pressure and criticism, but, as long as the committee membership felt that its recommendations were honest, then this criticism and pressure would best be ignored.

Chairman Green appointed a temporary steering committee to aid in the process of drafting rules and subcommittee formats. And, because it was believed that CRE must look into all aspects or all phases of the problems that would have an impact upon the education of Grandview's children, it was decided that the following six subcommittees would be established:

1. School Plant and Operations
2. Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity
3. Effect of Racial Residential Patterns on School Enrollment and Achievement
4. Effect of Community and Home Environment on Educational Achievement
5. Relation of Private Youth-Serving Agencies to Educational Achievement
6. Relation of Government Agencies to Educational Achievement

Objectives were also discussed and established for these subcommittees, and it was made clear that the objectives settled upon were not to be considered exclusive. Also at this time chairmen for the various subcommittees were appointed, and provisions were made for each member of the committee to decide upon which subcommittee he would like to serve. Operating procedures were also established:

A. Membership on the committee shall in no way constitute a limitation upon the right of members to express their personal views concerning any matters, but members will be expected to exercise discretion in making public statements which might be misinterpreted as reflecting committee views or as indicating a mind closed to inquiry.

B. No public statement shall be made by any member other than the general chairman, and he only with approval of the executive committee concerning the committee's work. Discretion shall be exercised concerning private statements relating to the committee's work.

The structure of the various subcommittees was considered crucial to the work of the committee. The subcommittee structure was established so that every member would be aware that resolution of disagreements would have to take place within the various working subcommittees. According to one member, the subcommittee structure would make it awkward for any individual to dissent in the final report unless the individual had very strong and specific reasons. It was generally agreed that the subcommittee's function was to avoid petty dissent; in essence, the total membership wanted to make sure that if an individual had a dissenting opinion, it would be authentic, and that he would present it within the subcommittees. This strategy seemed to work well in the minds of some committee members who considered themselves "dissenters" by virtue of their liberal opinions, and who felt they had difficulty obtaining consideration of fundamental issues.

Records were kept of subcommittees meetings, and one member of the press was invited to attend several of the meetings. Although the meetings were not open, he was selected so he would have background information when the report was released. During the subcommittee meetings testimony was heard from a variety of individuals who had either been invited by the subcommittee or who had appealed to the school board or to CRE for an audience. Various other sources of information were utilized by the subcommittees. Several of the committee members visited other cities throughout the United States to view programs in operation. There was some comment questioning the usefulness of these visits in relating the problems of other cities to the problems and total situation confronting Grandview.

Several of the committee members reported that the committee tried very hard to gather objective information in order to formulate a report based on sound factual data rather than emotion or rumor. Much of the information used came from the administrative staff. Information was reportedly offered by a sociologist at a local college but was refused. The sociologist later charged that CRE was receiving information that was biased and distorted. He maintained that the method of collecting the data may have been unreliable, and that filtering tham through the executive director of CRE may have produced some general bias in the data.

After close to a year of investigation, a second committee meeting of the whole was held on July 7, 1964. According to the committee minutes, Judge Green called this meeting so that subcommittees could present their preliminary reports, and "give the background, the considerations, the material considered that went into the report--and then throw the matter open to questions from the floor." The purpose of this procedure was to enable all members of the total committee to ask questions and make suggestions which could be taken back to the various subcommittees for further consideration.

It was reported by one of the subcommittees that, "Over the period of eight months, 22 meetings were held lasting from one to four hours each. One hundred and sixty-three pages of minutes and numerous special memorandums, reports, and studies were proposed."

A third meeting of the whole committee was held on July 14, 1964. At that time Chairman Green made the following remarks:

> At I tried to indicate in the memo reminding you of this meeting, having operated through the first phase of our existence on a subcommittee basis, it now become important that there be full discussion of the subcommittee reports so that we finally produce not a compilation of subcommittee reports but a single, full committee report.
>
> In working towards this goal, it seems to me that there are certain things that we should keep in mind. We must recognize that we are an important committee. We have the opportunity to have a greater impact than any other committee of this kind in this community has had in the past or may have in the future. In fact, we are going to make an impact. The only question is whether it is a constructive impact or a destructive one.
>
> A report from a sharply divided committee will, at best, severely damage its effectiveness, at worse, it will do more harm than good. A report too long being delayed in being produced may possibly deprive us of the opportunity to help avoid in this community things which have occurred in others. A report which seeks all or nothing at all will not fulfill our obligation, which at least in major part is to make specific recommendations which can be augmented by the school district immediately.

On August 27, 1964, the final subcommittee made its report to the committee of the whole, and on September 26, 1964, a meeting was held for the purpose of approving a rough draft compiled from all the subcommittee reports. At this meeting, Judge Green stated that anyone who wished to express his feelings, pro or con, on any issue or section in the subcommittee reports would be recognized and a vote would be taken. According to the minutes, various members of the subcommittees took strong positions which were discussed vigorously. Much of the discussion appeared to have come from members who did not believe the committee was making a sufficiently vigorous attack upon the problem. Questions of bussing and integration caused considerable debate. At the end of the meeting, the chairman appointed a committee to edit the text of the report.

Finally, on October 8, 1964, a meeting of the committee of the whole was held to approve the final report. After much discussion on how the report would be submitted, it was decided that it would be presented to the school board at a special meeting. Also at this time there was some discussion on whether Judge Green should speak to the City Club about the report. It was generally agreed by the members of the committee that Judge Green could do so. Some of the members were concerned because some of the information had been leaking out. There was also much discussion regarding certain conclusions that the committee had reached, wording in the final report, and how the committee should submit its report to the school board and the public.

Strategies

Various strategies had been employed by CRE in arriving at its conclusions. Many of these were designed specifically by Chairman Green. Judge Green had participated in the formation and design of the subcommittees, had selected the chairmen of the subcommittees, and had appointed his executive committee from these chairmen. His strategy was never to allow any issue to come to a vote in either the subcommittee meetings or the committee as a whole. Subcommittee reports were prepared and were discussed at the committee of the whole meetings, and then sent back to the subcommittees for further consideration. According to Judge Green, his strategy was to "keep people talking, educating themselves, and never let them take a position" until a consensus had been obtained.

Predictably, certain controversial issues came to the surface. One of these involved bussing. Considerable controversy was generated over this issue by the liberal members of the committee, and Judge Green is reported to have been "very dubious about it." He was amenable to the open transfer policy as a "psychological safety valve." He felt that at the proper time he could concede to the liberal point of view by agreeing to the open transfer policy.

According to Judge Green, one of the major problems was to design a solution that the community would support financially and accept philosophically. He indicated that some of the committee members in the beginning were for total integration, but they decided after some time that perhaps some other solution would be more appropriate.

Another strategy of CRE was to broaden the study to include white students as well as Negro. It was known that nine schools fell below what was believed to be a reasonable norm in terms of achievement, and that three of these schools were essentially white while the other six were Negro. By the Committee's including the white underprivileged in the study, it would appear to the public that CRE had designed a system for improving the whole school program which would gain acceptance from the community as a whole.

Certain provisions in the report were included apparently to satisfy as many elements of the community as possible. No particular group on the committee was completely satisfied; however, one could probably conclude that each group did receive some concessions to their point of view. Chairman Green carried out several political maneuvers to accomplish this end. He worked with individual members of the subcommittees to get them to compromise or make concessions where problems or conflicts became too intense. In doing this, various portions of the report were rewritten to eliminate objectionable concepts so that when the report was submitted to the committee as a whole it would gain unanimous support. Near the end of the study, Judge Green and four or five other members of the committee spent twelve or thirteen hours in his home hammering out the necessary compromises in an effort to make the report acceptable to a majority of the members of the committee.

In August, 1964, about the time the report was beginning to take its final form, one member of CRE was elected to the school board. Some other members of the committee were instrumental in supporting his candidacy because they hoped he would interpret the report to other school board members and spearhead its support. As a board member, he did maintain active relationships with CRE.

Impressions of Committee by Members and Non-Members

Some of the CRE members believed that the committee did not address itself to the important issues. One member who had been selected for CRE from CORIPS stated that he believed the committee consistently avoided the important issues. He indicated a major problem was the domination of the Committee by two or three individuals, one being Chairman Green and another being the member who was elected to the school board.

A representative of the Negro community believed that the committee was dominated by the educational leaders. He said that the structure of the committee necessitated that most of the work be done in subcommittee meetings and these subcommittees were headed by men who were selected by Chairman Green. Therefore, Judge Green had some control over the direction that the subcommittees would take, he contended. The various subcommittees were saturated with educational data, graphs, and charts supplied by the administrative staff of the school district or the executive secretary of CRE. Some of this information, not only because of its content but also because of its volume, was difficult to digest. Many members were unaccustomed to dealing with this type of data and found it difficult to form an adequate picture of the existing situation from them.

Most of the members of the committee and most of the school board members believed that the committee constituted a representative group of Grandview citizens. However, some of the individuals described the committee only as a good cross section of the influential business community. Members of NAACP and other groups considered by the board to be "liberal" were, for the most part, rejected. The few who were appointed and chose to serve on CRE generally described the committee's work and the ultimate results as being typical of what could be expected from the committee considering its composition. One member charged that the committee had a narrow understanding of the issues involved, and he believed the committee was reluctant to move in directions that would not be popular with the community-at-large.

One member of the Grandview school administration described the committee as designed to represent the community power structure and not designed to represent the community-as-a-whole. In his words, the CRE membership represented religious, intellectual, business, and racial interest groups. Another member of the committee pointed out that he believed the activist Negro leaders were intentionally not included on the committee and those Negroes who were offered and accepted membership were ready to accept the distinction between the educational solutions and the total community problem of racial integration. He maintained that the Negroes on the committee tended to be conservative, and, furthermore, that representatives of the business community established a united front against all other elements on the committee.

There was also on the committee a group of individuals who represented the liberal minority point of view as opposed to the conservative majority. At times this group was in conflict with certain members of the more conservative group. One member reportedly resigned from the committee because of the manner in which conflicts were handled within the committee. On the other hand, another member was reported to have resigned because he felt uncomfortable being on a committee whose members generally were far more liberal than he.

A Negro member who was active in CORIPS generated conflict with one of the leaders of the conservative majority and contemplated resigning from the committee because of his reluctance to be associated with the activities of the committee and also because he believed the committee was disinclined to address itself to the key problem at hand. When Judge Green heard of this possibility, he met with him and urged him to remain.

Influences Operating on the Committee

A variety of influences were exerted on CRE's proceedings. As stated earlier, any person so desiring had an opportunity to make presentations to the various subcommittees. Several members of CRE indicated that the Grandview Negro leadership had very little power and the general consensus was that they exerted little influence upon the proceedings. Furthermore, these members indicated that the officers of the NAACP did not really represent the majority viewpoint of the Negro community.

NAACP leaders continued to press for a complete plan of integration despite the delays and opposition. At one point in May, 1964, Mr. Oscar Jeffers, President of the NAACP, threatened to close the Doville Elementary School if something were not done to relieve the disproportionate numbers of Negroes attending it. He claimed the school was 93.6 percent Negro. To this charge, Superintendent Roberts replied, when pressed, "I don't know. It could be. There are 340 pupils in the school."

A board member immediately denied that segregation existed in any Grandview school and Superintendent Roberts added that the pupils who attended the Doville Elementary School received an excellent education. The board member also indicated that the board would be guided by whatever CRE proposed. Mr. Jeffers answered the school officials by stating, "Achievement levels are lower at Doville than in the rest of the city. State University studies show this. The highest levels of achievement were found in four schools, all of which are integrated."

A few months later (September 26, 1964), the national leader of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, stated that the Grandview School System was almost 100 percent de facto segregated. According to Wilkins,

> ...the ghetto has produced ghetto schools. It is up to the people who created the ghettoes to get rid of the ghetto schools. Unless something is done about the consolidation of Negro students in three or four schools in the city, education is going to suffer.

Wilkins suggested that one way to alleviate the segregated situation in Grandview was to "see that the schools of tomorrow are given the advantage of 'new site selection, transfer, bussing, and redistricting.'"

Other individuals also influenced CRE. One of these individuals was a Grandview State College professor who was a Negro member of CRE. Whenever the Committee had to find a solution to a problem in reference to the Negro situation, they would look to him for assistance. Most members considered him to be a conservative Negro and, therefore, one who would not push too hard.

Without question, Chairman Green was the most influential member of the committee, and his influence was followed closely by the member who was elected to the school board. According to one Negro informant, he rose to prominence on the committee when he voiced his strong opposition to bussing children out of the Doville area.

The executive secretary of CRE probably exerted considerable influence since much of the data was filtered through him before reaching the subcommittees or the committee-of-the-whole. The fact that he had much to do with the writing of the final draft would also indicate that he might have influenced the final outcome.

One of the more influential groups that attempted to apply pressure upon CRE proceedings was CORIPS. Dr. Lawrence had indicated at the outset that CORIPS would closely scrutinize all of the CRE proceedings. CORIPS met several times to discuss the progress, and some of the subcommittees of CRE made attempts to contact CORIPS members to obtain their views on certain problems. There were, of course, other groups attempting to apply pressure. These included such organizations as the Council of Churches, the Teachers' Union, the Doville Ministerial Association, and the Urban League.

Most of the members of CRE indicated that they had very little contact with the school administration except when the administrators were called in to testify on a particular problem. However, CRE's progress was well known to most of the school board members and top level school administrators because the minutes of their meetings were made available to them. The final report would come as no surprise to the board.

There was some effort made to keep some of the Negro leadership informed and, possibly, mollified. But this attempt did not reduce tension among those who wanted an immediate frontal attack upon what they considered to be the basic problem.

In October, 1964, Mr. Jeffers stated that he was sorry CRE had not addressed itself to the major issue--integration. He criticized the committee for what it was attempting to do "rather than to attack the problem of integration of the schools directly." Jeffers declared: "Some time in the future, the school board will have to look at this problem of integration in the face. They might as well do it now."

In answer to these charges, Judge Green stated that he didn't know upon what basis Jeffers was making the charges because he stated that he himself did not know what was in the report. Green went on to indicate that most of the committee members were operating in confidence, but he did recognize that some of the material had leaked out.

The NAACP position was not the same as that of CORIPS. The NAACP took a more militant position when it became clear to them that CRE had not directed its attention to what it considered the basic problem, integration. On the other hand, CORIPS appeared to be generally satisfied with CRE proceedings, because as many of the members stated, at least something was being done in the Grandview system, and in conformity with what CORIPS had initially requested, a study of racial imbalance.

Final Stages of CRE Proceedings

Although the final CRE report appears to have been unanimously adopted, in actuality it was not. Great effort was exerted by Chairman Green to obtain the signatures of all the members. Certain compromises were made in a last minute effort to win approval of the Negro members of the committee. Even so, the final report did not please everyone. The report was made "acceptable" through some compromises, one notable compromise being to include the statement that the schools in Doville were inferior. This particular statement was not in the original reports, but it was included to satisfy the Negroes on the committee, some of whom, however, still maintained some reservations about the report.

CRE Report Submitted to School Board for Adoption

On Thursday evening, October 29, 1964, Judge Green publicly released the recommendations of the committee. The report itself was 48 pages in length, and was presented at an open public meeting at one of the high schools. In brief, the report described the committee's work, stated its recommendations, and conclusions, and outlined the philosophy and justifications underlying the recommendations. Judge Green made the following introductory remarks:

> A little over a year ago the board of Grandview's School District adopted a resolution constituting a committee of citi-

zens of the Grandview area and charging this committee with the responsibility of studying three questions and reporting to the board its findings. You asked me to serve as its chairman.

I am pleased and proud to advise you that we have completed our work and tonight we tender our report to you and through you to the community you represent.

In speaking to you, I am speaking to a public body about public matters and therefore, speaking to the whole community. We are your committee. The fact that we are reporting to you publicly is due to your desire and your arrangements. This is in keeping with the great tradition of the Grandview School Board--a tradition which is one of the basic reasons for the continued public confidence and the strength and excellence of the school system--the policy of the public body handling public matter in public. Since I am in a sense speaking to the whole community about matters of urgent community interest, I feel it proper to take some time to review the charge to the committee and its procedures. In the spring of 1963 a group of interested citizens, the Committee on Racial Imbalance, stimulated by local problems and by considerations being raised in other parts of the United States, inquired whether equal educational opportunities were being provided, particularly in five elementary schools where Negro children appear to be in substantial number. In response, the school board in July, 1963, created your committee and put the following questions to it:

(1) Does the Grandview School District, to any extent, deprive the children of one race of educational opportunities equal to those of other races? If so, what corrective steps should be taken?

(2) What might be done to improve achievement of students in culturally deprived areas of the city and meeting the educational objectives of this school system?

(3) What might the school system do through its educational processes to eliminate unreasoned prejudice in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race?

When you asked me to serve as chairman I must confess that I accepted with reluctance and with some trepidation. The reluctance and trepidation did not grow out of an unwillingness to devote the necessary time to the committee. Rather, it grew out of concern as to whether a committee sufficiently strong to thoroughly and candidly evaluate the scope of the problems involved, let alone strong enough to make specific recommendations for dealing with them, could be put together and held together. My fears on this score were not well founded. The committee you appointed made it a privilege and an honor to serve as chairman.

You appointed 43 people representing many facets of our community, coming from various walks of life, many of them completely unknown to each other at the time the committee first met. Of the 43 members of the committee whom I will name shortly, introducing to you those who could be here tonight, 39 remain as members of the committee, 38 of them active members. Four resigned, two for reasons of health, one by virtue of a business transfer to another city, and one in order to accept a position with this school board after the work of the committee had been largely completed. Monsignor Brown has been unable to participate because of the Ecumenical Council in Rome which he has been attending.

I have served on my share of boards and committees. I have never been exposed to a committee that worked with more honesty, objectivity and unselfishness than this committee and every member of it.

Our job has not been easy and the job of being chairman has not been easy. I think the results have made it eminently worthwhile. Further, for myself, the friendships I have made on the committee and the tremendous respect I have come to have for each of the members of it have more than justified the time and effort which have gone into the report which we are tendering to you tonight.

At its first meeting the committee gave itself a name by which it has come to be known, the "Committee on Race and Education."

It was apparent to the committee that schools are but one agency of society--perhaps the single most important agency, but only one of them; that schools do not exist in a vacuum but as a part of society, in a sense an instrument of social change and in another sense a mirror of social conditions; that therefore any meaningful study relevant to the important questions put to the committee by the school board would have to be sufficiently broad to include the social context in which educational problems occur.

We agreed upon a statement of organization and procedure which took into account this approach. The statement or organization and procedure adopted and which we have followed throughout our existence is included in the report as Appendix C. Briefly, under it we organized into an executive subcommittee and six substantiative subcommittees. The executive subcommittee consisted of the general chairman, chairman of the six subcommittees and four members-at-large. We provided for an executive secretary to work under the supervision of the general chairman, attending meetings of the full committee and all subcommittees, supervising his staff consisting of one secretary, maintaining, controlling, distribution of minutes, directives, and reports that provide clerical and research assistance to subcommittees. Notices of all subcommittee meetings were sent to all members of the full committee, and all members of the full committee were privileged to attend and participate in discussion of the meetings of

> any subcommittee, including the executive subcommittee. Minutes of all subcommittee meetings and executive subcommittee meetings went to all members of the full committee.
>
> As provided by our organizational structure, the reports of all subcommittees went to the full committee. Twenty-five constituted a quorum and 22 were necessary to adopt a measure. We provided for signed written dissents to be included in the report by any members who wished to dissent as to any part of the final report. The structure was designed to be workable and yet allow every member to have full say on every point no matter how minor. I hasten to advise you that the provisions for free discussion on any point were fully--and I repeat fully--taken advantage of by practically every member of the committee.
>
> I am pleased to advise you that the provisions for dissent were unnecessary. We are presenting to you a unanimous report--a report that is just more than that. I think I am speaking for every member of the committee when I say that not one of our recommendations is a watered-down result of any compromise. Each of us as individuals, white, Negro, business, professional, rich, not so rich, eager to change, reluctant to change, democrat, republican, in short all individual citizens of this community came to our task with many ideas, opinions, and points of view. We expressed our ideas and our feelings openly, sometimes lengthy, sometimes even heatedly. We engaged in long debate on issues that now seem relatively insignificant. We leave this assignment still having individual ideas, opinions and points of view, but for many of us they are not quite the same--we have each faced reality and in the process we have learned a great deal. Each of us as individuals might have emphasized a different point here and there throughout the text of the report or might have used different words or phrases to express an idea in the context, but each and every one of us is in enthusiastic accord with each and every recommendation we make.

To close his statement, Judge Green spent the first part of the evening reading through 34 pages of background material contained in the report. Following a recess, he presented what everyone had come to hear--the Committee's conclusions and recommendations. The presentation was well organized with a philosophical justification stated for each recommendation or conclusion.

After Judge Green made his presentation to the board, a motion was made that the report be adopted and that it be studied. School board member Allan Rogers then moved that a committee be appointed to study the findings contained in the report and prepare a resolution so that the board might consider it at the next meeting.

The board chairman, Bert Smith, then announced that on Monday, November 16, 1964, at the same high school, the school board would hear statements from the public on the report and would also hear some reactions from school administrators. Smith asked Superintendent Roberts to comment on the report, and Roberts stated that he and his administration could very easily accept the recommendations and conclusions as submitted by the committee. He also indicated that he would analyze the recommendations and report to the board on how best to implement them.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF CRE

The report contained 37 recommendations directly affecting the school system under six headings, and 13 recommendations directly affecting the community under three headings.

Recommendations Affecting the School System

The first set of recommendations related to the establishment of a Model School Program to provide for extensive compensatory education for the pupils in those elementary schools which were significantly below the city-wide mean in achievement levels and which had a high incidence of social and learning problems. All of these schools had a high percentage of Negro enrollment but also had a concentration of white children from the lower socio-economic class in the community. A teacher-pupil ratio of one to twenty was recommended for these schools. The report recommended that the Model School Program be placed under an administrator with the rank of an Assistant Superintendent directly responsible to the Superintendent of Schools but outside the regular administrative structure. The construction of a new school building to serve as an upper-division school for seventh and eighth grade pupils in the area served by the Model School Program was advocated. Pre-school programs were recommended for the Model schools and since Grandview did not have public kindergartens, it was suggested that consideration be given to charging a nominal tuition fee for "the possible favorable psychological effect." However, the report suggested that the major costs of the pre-school program should be at public expense.

Under this section, it was further recommended that each principal receive additional discretionary funds to be used for "supplemental materials, for transportation of classes on exchange visits and expeditions to enlarge the experience of the children." During the depression years, Grandview eliminated libraries in the elementary schools, but the report recommended that these be reinstated in the Model schools. A full-time nurse for each school was recommended. It was also recommended that each school have a full-time community agent to assist the principal in planning late afternoon and evening activities for children and parents and for developing the neighborhood participation in and support of the educational program. It was also recommended that a full-time clinical psychologist be attached to the staff of the Model School Program administrator. For students of exceptional ability, it was recommended that transportation at least on a part-time basis be provided to enable them to attend classes within the district where special opportunities for advancement of their talents were available. It was also recommended that when, in the judgment of the administrator, a child would materially benefit from transfer to another school district, if the parents consented, and if space were available, the child should be transferred and the transportation costs should be provided by the school district. An intensive in-service education program for teachers was recommended, and it was also recommended that the Model School Program administrator be authorized to give special recognition to teaching excellence and the development of high morale among all of the professional staff as well as the pupils.

Under the second section, Attendance Policies, the committee recommended strongly the retention of the neighborhood school with only such modifications for pupil attendance flexibility as had been suggested in other sections of the report. The committee did recommend that in planning for new construction the board should recognize "the educational desirability and the long-range necessity of reducing and avoiding the concentrations of children with depressed environmental backgrounds or the racial isolation of children." It was also recommended that any parent be given the option of transferring a child from the neighborhood elementary or high school to any other school in the district where space was available, provided that the parent assumed responsibility for the child's transportation and attendance.

Under the third section, Programs and Curriculum, the Committee recommended: that the superintendent be instructed to undertake a re-evaluation of the high school curriculum in the light of the racial problem; that occupation-oriented programs of general education be designed for students who are not college-bound; that a special vice-principal be appointed in the high schools affected who would be responsible for occupation-oriented general education programs; and that the new programs be accorded sufficiently high status to prevent their being considered a "dumping ground for intellectually inferior students." It was reccommended that cooperative arrangements be made with institutions of higher education to work with high school counselors and students to better identify and stimulate potential college candidates who might otherwise fail to develop their capabilities. Emphasis was also placed upon the extension of the Grandview Community College program, particularly in its terminal vocational-technical aspects, and upon the development of a more adequate apprenticeship training program in the Grandview area.

The fourth section of recommendations dealt with Counseling and Guidance. The report recommended: the introduction of more vocational counsellors and new counselling courses to help students select their occupations; the maintenance of more extensive pupil personal records; and the establishment of closer relationships with the State Employment Service.

The fifth section of the recommendations for the school district dealt with the Education of Disadvantaged Children. The Committee recommended that more attention be given to the material and cultural needs of disadvantaged children to enhance their motivation through extensive educational experiences outside of the school, greater recognition to individual accomplishments, more assistance to children who had experienced physical deprivations, better definitions of disciplinary codes, and better orientation at early stages in the child's experience toward the values of education.

The sixth section dealt with the Removal of Prejudice. The Committee reccommended: greater communication between teachers and the community served by their schools; the establishment of better programs to provide maximum opportunties for children of different races to work together toward common goals in areas of athletics, music, art and drama and other cultural recreational activities; the development of textbooks and study materials that better portray the contributions of major ethnic groups to American life; and the provision of major units of study in the social studies that portray the contributions of various ethnic groups to American society. The last of the recommendations in this section stated:

> We recommend an educational effort through the schools particularly aimed at parents to help eliminate false notions, prejudice and discrimination respecting the right of all persons to have freedom of selection of adequate modern and non-segregated housing.

Recommendations Affecting the Community

A general recommendation affecting the entire community said:

> We recommend that the school board prepare a master plan which (a) describes the problems of segregation, education, race relations, and social justice in this community; (b) makes suggestions for action by all government and private agencies which might better the climate of equality here; and (c) details what the schools have done and are doing to assure equality within the limits of sound educational procedures. We recommend that this master plan suitably revised at appropriate times be held out to the community as evidence that the schools are doing their part in satisfying group aspirations and are persuading other agencies to do theirs.

The first set of specific recommendations affecting the community-at-large applied to Employers and Unions. The committee recommended that the school board urge employers to demonstrate that effective equal employment opportunities, regardless of race, religion, or national origin, exist within the community, and to cooperate with high school vocational counsellors in presenting programs illustrating the qualifications expected of potential employees. The committee also recommended that the school board urge employers to provide on-the-job training and more apprenticeship opportunities for qualified persons regardless of their school records. Unions were urged to join with the employers in opening job opportunities for minority youth.

The second set of recommendations was addressed to Other Governmental Agencies. Coordination with other youth-serving agencies was recommended, along with the initiation of cooperative demonstration projects which would involve all related governmental agencies in an attack upon the social problems in a pilot area. Counselling within the Doville area was recommended in cooperation with private and public agencies. All agencies within the city were encouraged to enforce building, housing, and other related codes as a means of preventing the extension of slum conditions and the community housing authority was encouraged to continue its efforts to provide greater racial balance in its projects.

The third set of community-related recommendations was addressed to Privately-financed Organizations. The committee recommended that the United Good Neighbors fund recognize the need for supporting a variety of social services in the Doville area as a matter of high priority. The UGN was also encouraged to create a neighborhood center based on a settlement house approach which would provide extensive services to both the children and adults in the Doville area.

F~~inally,~~ it was recommended that extensive study be undertaken of the role of privately supported agencies in order to determine which ones can contribute effectively to the needs, both educational and social, of disadvantaged youth, particularly in the Doville area.

THE BOARD'S REACTION TO THE REPORT

During the period from October 29 when the report was submitted to the board and November 3, the newspapers carried a series of extensive articles explaining the CRE's program recommendations. Reference was made to the cultural enrichment program, the concept of transporting some Negro students out of the Doville area, and the proposals to extend the curriculum in the Doville schools. The papers discussed how the school system could aid in the elimination of racial prejudice in the school system and how the program would be financed. The papers published a statement by Judge Green, to the effect that, "This report may be the best thing of its kind ever done in this country."

At the November 16, 1964 school board meeting, as requested by the school board, Superintendent Roberts made the following statement:

> When the Board of Education, some 15 months ago, placed in the hands of a representative committee of our ablest citizens the responsibility for conducting a study of race and equal educational opportunity in Grandview's public schools, it had good reason to be confident that the committee would produce a plan appropriate to the problems our schools and community are facing. The committee's report meets this expectation.
>
> Anyone who reads the report, which the committee has presented, will be impressed by the character of its work. It is apparent that in the proceedings, in taking the measure of its task, in selecting approaches to its assignment, and in the conduct of its inquiry, the committee has done a conscientious and careful job.
>
> One is struck by the range of the committee's studies, the care with which it handled the vast array of data, and the intellectual integrity that marks its work. In our judgment, the committee, under Judge Green's leadership, has produced a reasoned analysis of what it calls "this community's most serious problem" and has devised a workable plan for attacking it. The report is not only a blueprint for local action but also a significant addition to the rapidly expanding literature dealing with the whole matter of race and education. We as a staff believe the report outlines an intelligent and feasible approach to the problems before the committee. We are eager to implement it as wisdom directs and the Board of Education approves.

A staff reaction to the report this evening must necessarily be short. There are numerous other speakers to be heard. Each deserves a share of the board's time.

Our comments at this time must also be rather general. Until certain administrative and organizational changes can be planned and completed, specific proposals for handling the recommendations of the committee could not be effectively spelled out. The committee, of course, acknowledged this and so indicated in the report.

We should like to make a few observations about the report.

We like the spirit of the document. We believe it is realistic and thoughtful. It regards the problems under study to be as complex as human nature actually is. While the report demands decisive action, it does not anticipate miracles. It asks for intense and prolonged attention to the problems at hand while recognizing that the kinds of change to be sought are the kinds that reside in persons and that persons require time to change. The report reflects, however, a faith that they can.

The report, we believe, embodies defensible educational philosophy. It assumes that the motivation of the learner is basic to teaching and learning and that without a measure of hope in the future, no child is capable of sustained effort. The committee stresses early childhood as a golden age for education and emphasizes that a deprivation in this stage of life span leaves indelible marks.

The report assumes that no school can be better than its teachers. Accordingly, it calls for broad scale inservice development of staff with special attention to the problems characteristic of disadvantaged schools.

As the report at times states or implies, the attack on these educational problems demands some built-in provision for research. This work should proceed experimentally. In dealing with human learning, temporary motivational effect is one thing; solid long-run improvement is another. We need to search for the techniques that work best and apply them accordingly. As everyone knows, sometimes rather dramatic results can be achieved with intensified teaching. Again, extra efforts seem to be futile. Grandview should be able to add significantly to the research base, underlying practice in disadvantaged schools. The projects to be launched deserve careful evaluation so that we may know when we have done better and when we have done worse.

Implicit in the report is a recognition of the principle that the administration of the school deserves some freedom in which to work. Perhaps the application of this principle to a few schools will lead to extensions that are system-wide.

The report is comprehensive. In its studies, the committee gave attention to a remarkably wide range of questions. The findings cover a good deal of ground. In the observations, conclusions, and recommendations contained in the report there are information and reflections that bear on many school and community programs and problems. The report deserves careful reading by every citizen.

For the school system there is a measure of constructive criticism. This we readily accept and intend to find useful. As examples, we refer to the questions raised about guidance, vocational education, testing, remedial reading and the program for the mentally retarded. While we feel there are good reasons for present practices as they exist, improvement is our first order of business, and we shall take the committee's comments seriously. We have no disposition to be defensive or to hold fast to current ways of doing things. What seems indicated is a careful restudy of several special programs through the use of outside, professional consultants. It should be said, however, that some features of some of these programs are shaped by legislative requirements as govern such special services that qualify for state support. Now is a good time to review these requirements to see whether a high degree of flexibility should be introduced.

It is worth noting that the committee based its decisions on principle. Throughout the report are statements that reflect the careful deliberation the committee devoted to the complex and difficult questions it faced. Wisely, the committee constructed a theoretical foundation on which its recommendations rest. The techniques that it proposes proceed from this basic thinking. This is one of its major strengths.

The recommendations contained in part 14 of the report divide as follows. Thirty-seven relate to the schools and 13 affect the community. The recommendations constitute a tremendous assignment which will engage the efforts and programs for thousands of people, not only those connected with the schools but also many more in a wide range of governmental and private agencies. To make these ideas become reality will require action far beyond the capacity of the school staff to produce. Complex and delicate problems of cooperation and coordination are involved. The recommendations placed on the board and the staff are a considerable burden of responsibility for community leadership. It is our hope that the school staff can carry its end of these responsibilities in such a way that all participating agencies will find it easy to participate in a joint effort.

The Model School Program which is proposed, we think, is feasible. The development of this plan, of course, can only proceed after an administrator has been appointed. We may suggest that six schools would be the best number to start with. Six should be sufficient for tryout of the plan and would provide a better sized experimental situation.

The report assumes that its implementation will be expen-

> sive. The added services required by the recommendations will increase the school budget. This is a fact that has to be faced. To translate the recommendations into action will require some funds not now in sight. Whatever the district is able to do should be done without weakening the rest of the school system. We cannot develop new programs at the expense of others deserving a continuing support.
>
> No accurate estimates are possible at present, but personnel to reduce teaching loads, to staff new programs, to offer new services will probably cost upwards to half a million dollars.
>
> Summer institute, additional building facilities, libraries, instructional supplies, and equipment proposed for disadvantaged schools will, of course, also be expensive.
>
> The proposed preschool programs, like the present kindergarten would not be eligible under present law to receive state support. There is hope, however, that increases in funds from the state and federal sources may come in time to help materially with these needs.
>
> It seems clear that our function as a staff is to get on with the detailed analysis of each of the committee's proposals, looking for means of application that will get the best possible educational results. This we intend to do.
>
> Some of the recommendations can be implemented almost at once. The policy changes which will be required can be quickly prepared for submission to the Board of Education. The administrative and organizational revisions the report contemplates will take time to plan but should be accomplished in accordance with the schedule the report suggests.
>
> I can speak for the school staff when I say that we welcome the opportunity to implement and carry forward the plans and intentions of the committee as expressed in the report. We shall do this with enthusiasm, with consciousness, and with care.

After Roberts made his statement, several individuals in the audience were allowed to make presentations either for or against the report. The school board then passed a motion to discharge the committee and commend it for its outstanding service. The motion described the report as excellent and concluded with a directive to the superintendent:

> The superintendent is directed to present to this board for its consideration as quickly as possible detailed comments and proposals with respect to each of the recommendations of the committee together with, where appropriate, specific resolutions for consideration and adoption by the board.

One board member stated, "The Grandview School Board adopted the report of the Green Committee because we felt that this was the most outstanding analytical approach to the problems of the culturally deprived that had ever been developed in the entire United States."

There is, of course, one questions that remains: Did the board have a prior commitment to a program such as submitted by CRE? Some member of CRE felt that the board did have a prior commitment to a program of cultural enrichment. The board members agreed that they were sympathetic to an enrichment program. Throughout the period of study, various proposals were submitted or suggested to the school board. The NAACP proposed total integration. CORIPS took essentially the same position, but it appeared to be satisfied that a study was being made which would indicate a desirable course. But no proposal other than that submitted by CRE received any extensive consideration by the board.

Most of the members of CRE viewed the study process and the recommendations as quite substantial in scope and content. Furthermore, most of these individuals believed that CRE had done a very good job. In brief, most believed that they had spent an extensive amount of time and work and that they had come up with recommendations that were educationally sound and both socially and politically desirable.

On January 11, 1965, Superintendent Roberts, as requested by the school board, recommended an administrator of a Grandview high school to fill the position of administrator of the Model School Program. This educator had had extensive experience both in dealing with children from the Doville area and working with community groups in that section of the city. Certain members of the board took an exceptional interest in the Model School Program, and one board member who had been a member of CRE said in a memorandum to his colleagues:

> We are at the beginning of a unique educational experiment is this city. The committee report gives us a solid intellectual basis for significant changes in educational procedures. Obviously, problems will arise, changes will have to be made, particularly as we learn what succeeds and what does not. But what is most important is that we proceed quietly and determinantly to get on with the job. The board has given this program every bit of backing it has been possible to give, both publicly and privately. The board has tried to avoid response to hostile criticism other than consistent explanation. Dr. Roberts and his staff have imaginatively and vigorously brought the program to life. Along with the great amount of extra work involved, they have steadily maintained a policy of talking about the program to everyone who wants to see them. They have listened to and talked with people opposed to the program as well as

those in favor of it. At this point, I think most reasonable people are now satisfied that the district is doing something significant. It is my judgment that the quality of effort going into implementation fairly matches the quality of thought that went into your investigations.

CHAPTER 6

REACTION AND AFTERMATH

Public reactions to CRE's report were not long in coming. The first and most critical came from Oscar Jeffers, NAACP President, on November 16, 1964. Jeffers disagreed with the findings and again called for complete integration as the only acceptable solution. He stated that the education Negro children were receiving in Grandview was inferior, and "establishing the Model School facility to segregate children of color and class is no advantage and offers no present or future improvement." He maintained that CRE's recommendations were a negation of all NAACP convictions. Further, according to Jeffers, "We have waited for months to see this report, and now that this unsatisfactory document has been presented, we are prepared to take off the kid gloves and fight for the educational rights of our children." Continuing, he stated, "The tone of the committee's findings seem to smack of 'white patronage.' It is as if they are saying 'we'll give the Negro children integration as soon as they are ready for it.' ...as if Negro children must earn it or be promoted to it." And he concluded: "The immediate and positive correction of racial isolation and imbalance is the first step to be taken in helping Negro children to attain the level of education which white children have had for generations. Grandview school children must be integrated now."

The next day the newspapers, reviewing the NAACP statement presented by Jeffers, stated that Jeffers believed CRE was "an elaborate scheme to perpetuate segregation and reduce Negro students to a state of unparalleled squalor." Other Negro leaders were reported to be more favorable toward CRE's recommendations and some of these leaders indicated that the NAACP leadership did not really represent the Negroes of the Doville area in their denunciation of the report. One leader among Negro women stated: "In my opinion, the present officers of the NAACP are neither representing nor transmitting opinions, hopes, ambitions, and beliefs of the Negro members of the community when they merely offer negative criticism of the Race and Education report." Another man who claimed he represented the Committee on Neighborhood Improvement for Doville stated, "I have talked with hundreds of Doville parents, both Negro and white, and they don't want to spend education dollars to force some students to be bussed to other schools. They favor retention and improvement of Doville School, not closing it down and bearing the high cost of building new schools. Most of the people in the Doville area like the Model School Program recommended by the Race and Education Committee."

Other speakers at the school board meeting of November 16 stated that the Race and Education recommendations did not go far enough. The Chairman of CORIPS, Reverend Lawrence, a Negro minister who stated that he was speaking for the Greater Grandview Council of Churches, reaffirmed that integration was the only answer to achieving educational equality.

In a statement to the school board on November 16, 1964, Reverend Lawrence stated as follows:

> The report of the Committee on Race and Education of October 29, 1964 is an encouraging first step in the attack on racial imbalance in Grandview schools. We welcome the report and express to Judge Green and his hardworking committee our thanks for their diligence and commitment to their task.
>
> In our statement to the school board of May 13, 1963, asking the school board to establish a study commission, we pointed to the concentrations of Negro children in five elementary schools and stated that population trends would increase these concentrations. We stated that the school board had a special responsibility to ascertain the extent and affect of racial imbalance in the schools, and to take all reasonable and effective steps to redress that imbalance. We emphasized that the public schools must train for good citizenship and that racially imbalanced schools do not provide such training for Negro children. We suggested that the Negro child who attends an overwhelmingly Negro school in a white community feels separate and inferior--and not a part of the mainstream of American life--and that such separation negatively affects his school achievements and training for citizenship.
>
> Thus, it is good to find that your committee's report clearly recognized the special responsibility of the school system to face the problem, not only of disadvantaged school children in general, but of reducing and avoiding racial concentrations of Negro school children....
>
> Certainly the objective of our school system is quality integrated education. Improving the quality of education for all disadvantaged children and reduction and avoidance of racial concentrations are both essential partners to educational excellence. The report recognizes this partnership by joining recommendations to intensify techniques of compensatory education with recommendations to correct racial concentrations.
>
> We support the report's recommendations to improve educational techniques, such as new teaching methods in training, reducing the class size, redirection of the mental retardation programs, improved counselling and guidance, intensified social

work in the home, community agents, school libraries, school nurses, strengthen curriculum, and nursery schools. We hope the nursery school program will expand as rapidly as possible to include all disadvantaged children in the system.

We are also encouraged to find in the report several recommendations which, if fully, speedily and effectively administered, can be of assistance in combating racial concentration. These recommendations are:

1. An upper divisional school
2. New school construction and adjusting attendance boundaries to account for population shifts
3. Open enrollment, EE transfers and administrative transfers

On the other hand, we must say that these recommendations provide very limited tools to deal with a very urgent and immense problem. We share a concern with many that these recommendations are too modest. The urgency of the problem of racial concentration is shown by the statistics in the report. These show that the Negro elementary population is 10 percent larger this school year than last school year. Several schools remain almost entirely of Negro enrollment, and three others have each become significantly more racially concentrated. The Negro school population of one school, last year 88 percent, is now 92 percent; another, last year 79 percent, is now 87 percent; of another, last year 42 percent, is now 48 percent; of still another, last year 55 percent, is now 67 percent. The concentrations grow predictably and dangerously. Immediate administrative action is required if the trend is to be reversed.

The program for administrative transfers contained in Recommendation 12 can be particularly helpful if administered as the report recommends, with a conviction that racial concentrations of Negro children must be corrected. Frankly the extent to which the recommendations in the report are successful in reducing racial concentrations of Negro children will be determined to a very large extent by the desire of school officials to implement Recommendation 12 effectively and enthusiastically. Our Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance will watch with intense interest the implementation of the administrative transfer program.

In our judgment, the report of the Committee on Race and Education, if fully, speedily, and effectively administered, can mark the end of the beginning--a real first step--in an effort to achieve equal opportunities for all of our children.

We do, therefore, ask the school board to adopt the report as submitted, and to implement it speedily, fully and effectively. In so doing, we pledge our support to any request by the school board for such added funds from taxation and otherwise as are necessary to achieve this goal.

As in the past, continued citizen participation in the solution of these problems is essential. Therefore, in addi-

> tion to urging the adoption and the implementation of the report, we strongly recommend to the board the appointment of a citizens' advisory committee whose members have the same qualities of leadership and dedication as those appointed to the Committee on Race and Education. Such an advisory committee should be charged with the following duties to assist in administering the report:
>
> 1. To review continuously the effectiveness of programs to achieve integration.
> 2. To continue to study the experience of other communities and to recommend such additional procedures as may be necessary to correct racial concentration.
> 3. To consult with groups in the community interested in race relations in education.
> 4. To encourage and assist parents and pupils to use opportunities made available in the school system to achieve integration.

These criticisms of the CRE report were accompanied concurrently by statements of support voiced by the Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, the Urban League, and the State Association for Nursery Education.

On December 29, 1964, a Negro leader proposed closing down three of the Doville schools. Each of the schools reportedly had over 90 percent Negro students. The leader commended CRE and their program but stated: "CRE missed the mark in not recommending any direct action for solving the race problem in the near segregated schools." He proposed bussing students from Doville to other schools even though by this time the Model School Program had been initiated.

About the same time, a representative of the Catholic Council on Human Relations stated that the CRE report was weak because it didn't come to grips with the problem of integration. According to the Council's statement, "What needs to be done to educate children cannot be done in segregated schools no matter how much special care we put into them."

On January 14, 1965, Mr. Jeffers stated that the CRE report was "political and designed to bring about a special tax levy to implement the program for which the report calls." Furthermore, according to Jeffers, "The report is self-servicing to the school district..." and it is "...unracial, incidently concerned with Negroes." He declared that the CRE report "offers something for everybody--for Negroes the so-called opportunity to integrate through open enrollment; for educators, new programs; for teachers, lower class ratios." He admitted that the NAACP at first supported CRE proceedings because it believed this was to be a first step; however, it now sees no possibility for follow-up or a second step. He charged, "The essence of the report statement is that all Negro children want to rub elbows with white children. This is ridiculous. We want equal opportunity and first-class citizenship."

As stated earlier, many facets of the CRE report were implemented during the months of January through May of 1965. One of the problems of the school board and school administration was to find adequate financial resources to implement all of the programs recommended by CRE. One source of income was the state legislature, and during the first few months of 1965 the Grandview school board and administration attempted to persuade the state legislature to provide additional money for Grandview schools so that the CRE recommendations could be implemented. A measure was proposed to provide $1,700,000 for "education for disadvantaged children" for the school years 1965 to 1967. Representatives of several groups appeared before the Legislature to speak for and against the proposal. The NAACP and other groups spoke against the bill because they believed that legislative money should not be poured into the Grandview system to aid a program which they considered to be deficient. Other groups supported the bill because they recognized that the money was needed before the recommendations could be implemented. The director of the Catholic Council on Human Relations, when he testified before the House Education Committee urged defeat of the measure because, "We insist that in the absence of a schedule to phase out desegregated occupancy of schools in Grandview, we oppose a program to use tax money to keep de facto segregation in existence."

At the same meeting other witnesses, many of them Negroes, testified that they did not want state money used for "beefing up the education program in the ghetto schools."

The new president of Grandview's NAACP stated that the NAACP had no opposition to the legislature providing the money "if the funds in question are specifically earmarked for use in providing compensatory educational services in a thoroughly integrated context." The rabbi of a Jewish congregation in Grandview concurred with the NAACP position and stated that he could see no reason why special funds should be made available for segregated schools.

A few weeks later a newspaper account of a PTA meeting stated that the director of the Model School Program was told that few parents believed that bussing children out of the Doville area was the answer to the segregation problem. According to the newspaper, the parents instead wanted their schools improved and made into model schools in a sort of "operation bootstrap."

The same newspaper account quoted one parent who had children in Doville School as follows: "We don't want to have our children bussed. That will do our children more harm than good. If he goes to a school over in the suburban district, we will have to buy him new clothes and teach him new manners, and he will probably be ridiculed by his new classmates anyway. What we really need are better jobs so that we can get what we want and give our children what they need." The newspaper further reported that another speaker stated that "only the NAACP and the Doville Ministerial Association want the children bussed out of the area. They don't have children in school."

About two weeks later, a special PTA meeting was held at Doville School where individuals testified on the proposal to transport children out of Doville. According to the newspaper accounts, most of the Negro parents who attended the meeting stated they did not want their children bussed out of the area. However, the article reported that several Negro ministers and other Negro leaders were insistent that segregated schools were a sin and that the schools had to be integrated. The same newspaper account carried the following statement by one of the officials in the Model School Program:

> We believe many children at some of the Doville's disadvantaged schools could benefit by being bussed to their schools, and we will see that it is done. We also believe that many children are not ready to be bussed away from their neighborhood. They will be hurt if forced into the mainstream at this time.

On May 17, 1964, the NAACP restated its position on the Model School Program. Oscar Jeffers stated that educators in Grandview have "in the past few years issued statements and decisions showing the most racially vicious and most orally confusing, the most artfully dodging, and educationally harmful efforts as was ever conceived in the minds of bigots of the South." According to Jeffers:

> Integration is a word that the Grandview School Board refuses to say in its policy statements and as long as they cannot say it, I cannot feel that they believe it. This school board has consistently refused to recognize that the NAACP first raised the integration question in the spring of 1962. Every time they mention what they had done, they give credit

> to the Citizens Committee on Race and Education that appeared before them months later. They hope that by refusing to recognize the NAACP that it will never be said that the NAACP had to show them the way.... They lead us into arguing whether or not additional classrooms should be built in Doville School when the real question is whether or not these classes are to be integrated. That is the question they refuse to face.

Progress Reports

The newspapers reported initial progress in implementing the CRE report. On January 12, 1965, a story stated that programs to implement the Green Report were well underway and "basically they are working well." It reported one board member as saying that "overall acceptance of the new program has been good."

About two weeks later an editorial entitled, "Model Plan on Way" stated:

> Some 500 Grandview elementary school children, most of them Negroes are attending schools outside their own neighborhoods, either by choice or by administrative assignment. In consequence, teacher loads have been reduced in the "model schools" serving disadvantaged children. And some such children, both white and Negro have found school places and friends in other neighborhoods. In addition, nurses, teacher aids, and community workers have been added to school staffs in the "model area" of Grandview. Library, recreation, and other supplementary programs have been strengthened. It is a good start.... This is a continuing program, one of which per pupil cost will be above average. It is typical of the kind of school programs required in greater degree in urban centers than in suburban or rural districts.

In spite of the optimism of the press, on January 30 the NAACP entered a suit against Grandview's school system. According to the attorney representing the NAACP, "The suit would be similar to those filed against school districts elsewhere in the nation, particularly in eastern states. The suit asked, in effect, for courts to order an end to de facto segregation." He said NAACP would prefer not to do this in Grandview but, considering recent events, it now felt it had no other alternative.

In response to the announcement of the suit the director of the Model School Program defended the school system by stating that he didn't know the grounds upon which NAACP would base the suit. As he stated, "I believe we are accomplishing a great deal and the schools and the community are working in good faith to cope with the situation." In reply, the vice-president of Grandview's

NAACP, stated that the suit was based on the fact that concentrations of Negroes in some of the city's schools had not been appreciably decreased since the school system's open enrollment and student transfers began last fall. The NAACP, he declared, wanted integration of schools, and the offering of enriched educational programs at some of the so-called under-achiever schools is not accomplishing this end.

So, apparently, it went. The NAACP continued its charges that Grandview's schools were segregated and that the Model School Program did very little to alleviate the problem. The school board, on the other hand, and the Model School administrators continued to defend their program by stating that the Model School Program did alleviate the problem through its enrichment opportunities.

Conspicuous by their apparent absence during this period when the Model School Program was being implemented was CORIPS. This absence from the scene appears to imply some type of agreement or satisfaction with at least portions of the Model School Program. Most of its members believed the Model School Program was the first step but other programs should follow from it. As a result of this position, the NAACP found themselves alone, in about the same position that they had been when they first made recommendations to the school board that a study group be formed and that something be done about the problem of integration.

In May, 1966, a local newspaper carried the following story:

> The Grandview School Board Thursday was judged the best large system school board in the nation by the 8,000 member classroom teacher division of the National Education Association. The Grandview board was cited for the most creative educational accomplishments during the past school year. The nation's teachers cited the Grandview system's Model School Program which has resulted in revolutionary educational changes to improve education in the city's nine lowest achiever schools. Grandview was rated the best among school districts of 3,000 students or more.